The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

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In Defense of the Stock Exchange

By Richard Whitney
President of the New York Stock Exchange

Abolish Stock Gambling!

By John T. Flynn

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In This Issue

RICHARD WHITNEY has been president of the New York Stock Exchange since 1930. By virtue of this position he is the most authoritative spokesman in this country for the financial interests which are popularly designated under the term "Wall Street." He is also the head of Richard Whitney & Company, dealers in stocks and bonds. His article in this issue was written at the special request of the editor of The Christian Century.

JOHN T. FLYNN is an independent student of economic history and financial affairs, to which he has devoted many years of research. He is the author of "God's Gold: John D. Rockefeller and His Times" (reviewed in The Christian Century, Nov. 2, 1932), and of a volume to be published this autumn entitled "Security Speculation, Its Economic Effects," dealing in more detail with the theme treated in the article which is presented in this issue. While the articles by Mr. Whitney and Mr. Flynn represent diametrically opposite points of view, it should be understood that they do not constitute in any sense a debate between the two writers, and that each article was written without reference to or knowledge of the other.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR has just returned from Germany. His frank and outspoken report of recent events in that country and his keen analysis of their significance are the outcome of investigations on the ground and rest upon the foundation of a long and intimate acquaintance with Germany, its people, its language and its culture.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

August 9, 1933

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Calendar of Coming Events

July 29-Aug. 14. General conference for Christian workers, Northfield, Mass.
August 5-21. Silver Bay vacation conference, Lake George, N. Y.
Aug. 11-20. Winona Lake Bible conference, Winona Lake, Ind.
August 14-21. Massachusetts Christian endeavor conference, Northfield, Mass.
August 14-Sept. 1. Westminster choir school, summer session, Lake George, N. Y.
Aug. 16. Annual conference Methodist Protestant church, Marion, Ind.
August 20-27. Northern New England school of religious education, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H.
Aug. 21-27. Western yearly meetings. Society of Friends, Plainfield, Ind.
August 23-26. Y.M.C.A. industrial conference on human relations, Lake George, N. Y.
Aug. 25-Sept. 4. Ocean Grove, N. J., camp meeting.
Sept. 4, 5. Meeting of presidents and secretaries of the World Alliance.
Sept. 5-8. Tower Hill convocation, auspices Congregational-Christian conference of Illinois and Chicago Congregational union, Tower Hill camp, Sawyer, Mich.
Sept. 5-10. Wisconsin conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, Milwaukee, Wis.
Sept. 9-12. Universal Christian council for life and work, executive committee, Novi-Sad, Jugo-Slavia.
Sept. 15-16. World alliance for international friendship through the churches, Sofia, Bulgaria.
Sept. 19-21. Midwest regional meeting, Congregational Christian churches, First Plymouth church, Denver, Colo.
Sept. 27-28. Foreign Missions conference of North America committee of reference and counsel, New York, N. Y.
Oct. 1. Rally day (Methodist).
Oct. 3-10. Quadrennial conference, Evangelical Synod of North America, Cincinnati, O.
Oct. 6-8. Annual conference of teachers' union and auxiliary. Hudson Guild farm, Netcong, N. J.
Oct. 6-10. Missions Training Institute, New York city.
Oct. 11. Annual convention of New Hampshire council of religious education, First Congregational church, Concord, N. H.
Oct. 11-15. International convention of the Disciples of Christ, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Oct. 14-16. New England regional conference, Pittsfield, Mass.
Oct. 17-19. Catholic rural life conference, Milwaukee, Wis.
Oct. 19. St. Louis conference, Methodist, south, Sikeston, Mo.
Oct. 20-22. Sesqui-centennial, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
Oct. 22-26. Centenary Anglo-Catholic congress on the Catholic Revival and the Kingdom of God, at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia.
October 31. Fall meeting. New York district, New York conference, Woman's foreign missionary society, Calvary church, New York, N. Y.
Nov. 14. Fall meeting Methodist board of bishops, First church, Germantown, Philadelphia.
Nov. 20-22. Annual meeting, Methodist board of home missions and church extension, Philadelphia, Pa.
Nov. 22-25. Annual meeting Methodist board of foreign missions, Central church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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The Christian Century

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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EDITORIAL

FIVE YEARS ago, on August 27, the Kellogg-Briand pact for the renunciation of war was signed. The event is worthy of commemoration. As the day happens to fall on Sunday, it will be especially appropriate to celebrate it in the churches.

Kellogg Peace Pact Is Five Years Old

There need be no flamboyant claims that a new golden age of peace was ushered in by the stroke of a pen. The facts would contradict any such rash assertion. Golden ages do not come that way. But even in so simple an act as the signing of a treaty, the pen may have been mightier than the sword. Since that treaty became a part of international law, there have been military operations which the rest of the world calls war, though the participants carefully refrain from calling them that, and there have been vast expenditures in preparation for the future wars that have been solemnly foresworn. But there has been a steady pull toward peace and a diminution of war's prestige. War itself has been on the defensive as never before. The celebration of this fifth anniversary of the pact should include not only recognition of what has been accomplished, but a consolidation of peace sentiment with a view to carrying out the implications of the explicit commitment of the nations to peace. The Women's international league for peace and freedom plans to make it the occasion for getting citizens all over the country to register their personal commitment to the principle of "no more war" to which the nations gave assent five years ago.

Progress With the Industrial Codes

PROGRESS in the making of codes for separate industries has been occurring simultaneously with the administration's campaign for signatures to the blanket code. August 1 was the day on which the latter went into operation, and already there are signs of an upturn in employment. The willingness and the apparent good faith with which business men and corporations have signified their acceptance of the provisions regarding minimum wages, maximum hours, and conditions of work are the best augury for the success of the program. Whatever may be the ultimate consequence, the immediate result has been a quickening of the morale of business as well as a new spirit of hope among the wage-earners. In the hearings on the steel code, an issue developed between the corporations on one side and the workmen and the representatives of the administration on the other with reference to "company unions." The code as formulated was ambiguous with reference to the right of the national unions to unionize the shops, and was admittedly intended to encourage the policy of allowing collective bargaining only through organizations of workmen within the several companies. From the standpoint of labor, this plan has never been a success and the American federation of labor has been against it from the start. Yielding to the persuasion of the secretary of labor, the steelmasters who had framed the code promptly receded from the position that had been incorporated in it and accepted a specific provision giving the workmen unlimited right to organize.

Dr. Hu Shih Interprets Trends in China

UNDER the auspices of the Haskell foundation institute, Dr. Hu Shih, the American trained Chinese philosopher who is known as "the father of the Chinese renaissance," has been lecturing at the University of Chicago on the general theme, "Cultural Trends in Modern China." The interpretation of the situation in the orient by one who is so familiar with both the east and the west could not fail to be enlightening to western audiences. Two significant and disquieting features of his diagnosis were his opinion that China's present weakness, as compared with Japan, is due to the fact that China has no military class, shows little honor to its soldiers, and "will need

several generations to get over its prejudice against the military and to build up a strong army and navy"; and his judgment that the trend of Chinese culture is away from all religion, the attitude of the leaders of thought being that religion is an enemy of progress and must be replaced by science by which alone both the moral and the material aspects of life can be improved. Victimized as she has been by the military power and financial greed of the west, and victimized no less by the neighboring oriental state which has been quickest to copy these characteristics, China may very naturally feel that the road to glory, or even to safety, for her is the road of military power. It is a mistaken conclusion, as she will learn to her sorrow if she tries it. She has more potent resources. And her renaissance of culture which aims to promote education and make effective the blessings and the enlightenment of science will go sadly astray if there is linked with it a repudiation of religion.

Propaganda for Peace and War

AFTER a persistent campaign which has involved appeals to both the treasury and the state departments, Dr. Charles M. Sheldon has won his point and has secured permission to have placed in the federal building in his home town, Topeka, Kansas, a poster flanking those of the army and navy recruiting stations and bearing the text of the pact by which the United States renounced war. It seemed to him, and it seems to The Christian Century, that young men who are invited to join either arm of the fighting forces are entitled to know the exact legal status of war. There is nothing fanatical in such a proposal. It is rather the most obvious fair dealing with prospective candidates for positions in the army and navy, as well as with the people who get part of their education about war and peace and international relations from the posters which they see every time they go into the post office to mail a letter. The service posters play up the romantic and educational features of military and naval service. The local postmaster refused to allow the text of the Kellogg pact to be posted where it would divide attention with these glowing pictures. The treasury department took the same view. An appeal to the department of state brought a reversal of that decision, and the new poster went up beside the old ones. Now the youth of Topeka can take their choice. They can either "Join the marines and see the world," or join the peace movement and help to make a new one.

Gandhi Again Imprisoned

ROUSED from sleep and seized in the middle of the night, as though he were a dangerous and wary criminal who might give the police the slip, Gandhi was led away to jail in one direction and his wife in another, while the thirty-two members of his ashram, or group of immediate followers, were also placed in confinement. Before they were taken away they were allowed thirty minutes, which they spent in prayer and in the singing of hymns. The occasion for the arrest was an announcement of a new campaign of civil disobedience in which the villagers were to be invited to join as individuals rather than as a mass movement. Gandhi has been out of jail only since May, when he was released at the time of his three weeks fast in protest against the treatment of the untouchables. It seems incredible that the British authorities should not realize at what cost they gain whatever it is that they expect to gain by again putting the mahatma in confinement. The arousing of fresh resentment throughout India and the revival of worldwide disapproval in practically all classes of intelligent people outside of British officialdom and the conservative party are a rather high price to pay for the advantage, such as it is, of having the Indian leader in physical restraint. So little of him is physical, and so little does his influence depend upon his physical presence in any particular place, that Gandhi in prison is worth more to the cause of Indian liberty than Gandhi free. Because they love him, his friends always fear that even a mild restraint will lead to fatal results. His opponents have even more reason to fear the political effect if he should die in prison. His method of carrying on the struggle without recourse to violence and with fasting and prayer is a distinct embarrassment to his enemies. They do not make it any easier for themselves by attempting to use the police power for the restraint of a spiritual force.

Siegmund-Shultze Expelled From Germany

THE expulsion of Friedrich Siegmund-Shultze from Germany by the nazi government, news of which has just reached this country, is an event to arouse both indignation and pity — indignation that a government should be so ruthless, pity that it should be so blind. Siegmund-Shultze is one of the choicest Christian spirits of this generation. To many thoughtful persons all over the world he has been the embodiment of all that is best in German Protestantism. His social settlement in the heart of the working-class district made him the Jane Addams of Berlin. As a professor in the University of Berlin he has had wide and helpful contacts with socially minded students. As leader of the German branch of the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches, he has been a dynamic influence for better relations between his own country and others. In 1914, unable to find Christian sanction for the war, he had the courage to maintain his convictions, and was tried and condemned to death. A year ago in America he appeared on the same platform with the French professor, André Philip, and the two pledged themselves to work for reconciliation between their countries. At the Federal council meeting at Indianapolis last December he pleaded for a broad and in-

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clusive Christian fellowship. For such a man there is no place in Hitler's Germany! The nazi-controlled church elections only gave a color of legality to what was already going on. Dr. Dibelius, general superintendent of the Prussian church; Dr. Hosemann, director of the Evangelical church federation; Dr. Hinderer, head of the Evangelical press service — all have been summarily ejected from office. Officers of the American federal council of churches report that most of the German Protestant leaders with whom the council had established relationships since the war have been forced out of public lfe.i There is no religion but the Reich, and Hitler is its prophet!

A Threat to Put Dry Advocates Off the Air

A MEMBER of the federal radio commission, Mr. James H. Hanley, is widely reported as saying that preachers who venture to argue against the repeal of the eighteenth amendment in sermons over the radio should be cut off from the air, and could be cut off under a strict interpretation of the law. We do not know on just what paragraph of the law Mr. Hanley relies to authorize the withdrawal of broadcasting rights. It is true that the law gives large discretionary powers to the federal radio commission, and it is also true that the commission sometimes uses these powers with very little discretion, as in the case of the withdrawal of the license from the station used by Rev. Bob Shuler in Los Angeles for alleged reasons which were contradicted by the commission's own investigator. Perhaps Mr. Hanley means that a strict interpretation of the law would give the commission power to bar from the air anyone who has the temerity to oppose any policy favored by the administration. Or perhaps it seems to him to fall within the commission's function to censor sermons and see to it that preachers stick to "the simple gospel" and do not trespass upon any field related to social ethics. Whatever the ground of Mr. Hanley's suggestion, it has not been well received. Even so wet a paper as the Chicago Tribune protests editorially against such a policy of autocratic governmental control over opinions and the agencies through which they are disseminated. If our government, through the federal radio commission or any other part of its machinery, undertakes to tell the preachers what they shall preach and to warn the church away from every area which is touched by laws, there will be little to choose between such a regime and that which is now operative in Germany.

New Movie Bill Takes Hays' "Code" in Earnest

CONGRESSMAN Wright Patman of Texas introduced into the present congress, a day or two before its recess, a significant bill calling for federal supervision of the motion picture industry. The bill provides for the inspecting, classifying, and cataloging of films by a federal motion picture commission of nine members, four of whom shall be women, appointed by President Roosevelt. It forbids any film to enter interstate or foreign commerce which, in the judgment of the commission, tends to corrupt morals, incite to crime, or promote international war. It incorporates verbatim the famous code of ethics propounded and issued by the Hays office on April 1, 1930, the difference being that the code under Hays was an advertising and publicity device whereas now it is proposed as a set of standards of production with authority of law. The rights of the producers are safeguarded, for the bill provides that any producer may apply to the circuit court of appeals for a mandatory injunction to restrain the commission from forbidding his motion picture from entering interstate or foreign commerce. With some minor qualifications and reservations which can be taken account of during the process of committee consideration, this bill represents the type of federal supervision which we must have if we are to bring to the production of motion pictures the point of view of citizens who appreciate the tremendous social influence of this medium. The Christian Century suggests that those pastors and club leaders who are now discussing Dr. Eastman's articles recently published in these pages supplement them with a consideration of this bill. It may be secured, together with a reprint of Congressman Patman's explanation of it, by sending three cents postage to the Federal Motion Picture Council, 7120 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The number of the bill is H. R. 6097.

The Oxford Centennial

TO commemorate the beginning of a movement which is still a storm center of controversy within the organization in which it occurred, is a business requiring some delicacy of touch if it is to minister to edification rather than to discord. Anglicans have been getting a practical illustration of that truth in connection with the celebration of the centennial of the Oxford movement and the protests which that celebration has called forth. Some of these circumstances have been reported with sagacious comment by the London correspondent of The Christian Century (British Table Talk, in the issue of August 2), and others have occurred since that date.

The event which fixed the exact date for the commemoration was not, in itself, an event of conspicuous importance. It was a sermon preached at Oxford by John Keble on "National Apostasy." Newman later said that he reckoned it as the real beginning of the movement for the restoration of Catholic faith and practice in the English church, and his judgment has been generally accepted. Back of that beginning lay a body of conservative protest against, on the one hand, the evangelical temper of one section of the Anglican church and its habit of fraternizing with nonconformists in practical and religious causes, and, on

the other, a tendency toward liberalism in theology. The church was in large measure controlled by the state; and the Reform bill of 1832, by giving more equitable parliamentary representation to the newer industrial communities, had transferred much of that civil control of the church to groups in which nonconformity was strong. Keble's protest was primarily against the subservience of the church to the state—and especially to such a state.

If the matter had ended there, or if it had developed into an effective protest which freed the church from domination by the state by disestablishing it, the celebration of the centennial might well have enlisted the enthusiastic cooperation not only of all shades of Anglicans but of nonconformists as well. But it did not stop there; that was not what happened; and that is not what was being celebrated last month.

Pusey joined the movement soon after Keble's "assize sermon," and under his vigorous leadership and with the aid of Newman's persuasive rhetoric it developed into a full program for the revival and dissemination of Catholic principles in the Church of England. The points upon which most stress was laid were such as these: apostolic succession and the priestly character of the ministry; the divine authority of the church and its absolute independence of any civil control; the sacramental system as essential to the health of the soul; the Real Presence in the sacrament, not at first identified with transubstantiation but so near it that Pusey, who admitted that there was a difference only in words, was suspended from preaching because of a sermon on the eucharist. Newman made his submission to Rome in 1845, but Keble and Pusey remained Anglicans to the end and, with the growing number of those who associated themselves with them, demonstrated the possibility of being at once Anglican and Catholic. In the course of that experience the ritualistic movement grew up, which had been no part of the original program.

The evident spirit and motive of the centennial celebration was to glorify Puseyism and its Anglo-Catholic consequences, not to commemorate the Kebleism of 1833. Its central feature, in the ceremonies both at London and at Oxford, was the celebration of "high mass," with full ritualistic accompaniments. It was, in fact, turned into something of an Anglican eucharistic congress—something which would have been quite foreign to the sympathies and convictions of the Keble of 1833.

Passing over as too controversial to be discussed in this connection the question as to whether Anglo-Catholicism has a lawful place in the Church of England, considering what its articles are and what its historical position has been, and considering only that there is *de facto* an Anglo-Catholic party in that church and that everybody knows it, it would be unreasonable to deny that that party has a right to make the most that it can out of a centennial which connects its origin with a group of saintly and revered personalities and to celebrate that event by ceremonies consistent with its well known belief and practice. But it was the celebration of a party, specifically designed to build up that party's morale, to enhance its prestige and to promote its program. It is therefore equally unreasonable to expect this celebration to be concurred in and supported by other elements of the Church of England to whom these practices seem dangerously erroneous, and who cannot remember that Keble's 1833 sermon led to Anglican sacramentalism and high ritualism in Pusey without also remembering that it led Newman to Rome. Even non-conformists seem to be within their rights when they protest against turning to the uses of propaganda for a party the machinery of a church which professes to be the church of their country though it is not the church of their choice.

Some of the forms of protest appear not to have been characterized by the degree of dignity befitting the occasion. If that is true, it is regrettable but it does not affect the central point. The archbishop of Canterbury seems to have been moved by a laudable desire to advance the unity of the church by demonstrating that all parties are within its fold. The actual result of his policy has rather been the opposite one of provoking resentment by helping to turn what should have been a celebration by a party into an official celebration by the church of something that a great part of the church is violently opposed to.

In this country also we need to draw parties and sections into a sense of their underlying unity of loyalty and interest. But that cause would not be advanced by staging a national celebration of the firing upon Fort Sumter.

An Editorial Conversation

II.

Mr. Niebuhr to the Editor

I AM frankly baffled by many of your answers to my various paragraphs. You evidently do not understand me and I certainly do not know what you mean. I have no idea what you mean by my "static idea of God" or why you think my insistence that all political and economic arrangements rest upon coercion rests upon "shifty and slippery use of words." Neither can I understand how you can regard my position as being both too rigorously Barthian and too rigorously Marxian. I think therefore that we might bring light rather than confusion into this controversy if I began *de novo,* and if I try to avoid the journalistic flair to which your extravagant phrases "fantastic" etc., etc., frankly tempt me.

My view of the ethic of Jesus is that he made the law of love an absolute and that he asked us to practice it in order to imitate God, to obey him and to trust him. He counseled discipline against self-assertion even to the point of enjoining non-resistance against injustice (the second mile, the other cheek, "Who has made me a divider between you?"). He preached forgiveness rather than vengeance and complete trust

rather than foresight. These absolute demands have been effaced and diluted in a liberal Christian ethic which was intent upon proving that you could extract a social and even a political ethic from the gospel. The absolute character of Jesus' ethic did not come from devotion to a "static God" or to an "impossible absolute." He merely drove the ethical impulse of life (the impulse to affirm all life as much as I affirm my own) hard against the impulses of nature, particularly against the egoistic impulse. If the ethic of Jesus therefore makes us conscious of sin it does so not because it endows "the deity with static perfection," whatever that may mean, but because he sets our actions into sharp juxtaposition to the absolute demands of love.

If I accuse the editor of treating the concepts of the "possible and the impossible" casually, I mean by that that it is not so easy to set the limits of the possible and the impossible. Let me use the impulse of vengeance as an illustration. It is actually possible to restrain the impulse of vengeance. And such restraint is actually efficacious and practicable. The more I resist injustice merely as injustice and not as injustice done me (the vindictive element in the spirit of justice), I become a purer instrument of justice. My opponent might be redeemed from his spirit of injustice because he did not detect egoistic elements in my spirit of justice. In so far as I realize this it is really possible to restrain vindictive passion. Yet I have never been involved in a social situation in which my rights were affected in which I have been completely free of the vindictive spirit. The ego arises to corrupt the spirit of justice, just as it arises even in such a harmless editorial conflict as this one to obscure the truth. (Ideally I seek the truth, but actually I am hoping that my friends will congratulate me on having got the better of the editor of The Christian Century and I sinfully suspect him of having as evil motives as my own).[1] My actions do not therefore stand under the scrutiny of some "static perfection." They stand under the scrutiny of a moral principle which I recognize to be valid but which I am prevented by egoism from fully attaining.

If I would say that the approximation of the law of love is comparatively insignificant in the sight of the difference between the absolute and the relative, I might be accused of being a Barthian. But that is precisely what I do not say. I say rather that any approximation of both justice and love, even if the former has an element of coercion in it and the latter is diluted with an element of prudence contrary to an absolute ethic, is exceedingly important. I think as a matter of fact that I must engage in the political enterprise of establishing justice even if coercion is to be used to attain it. The editor of The Christian Century wants to detain me from this enterprise because he fondly believes that he will be able to achieve the same ends by persuading selfish people to become unselfish.[2] Our differences here rest altogether upon different conceptions of the power and persistence of the egoistic impulse and on that point I am frankly both more Marxian and more Christian (in the historical sense) than the editor. I might add that I am more Christian than Marxian because I do not believe that a socialistic society will achieve as easy a mutuality of interest as the true Marxian assumes. But I am more Marxian than the liberal Christian because I do not believe that any privileged class will ever as a class voluntarily sacrifice its privileges, or even that it will acquiesce in their socialization, without definite resistance. At this point history will have to be the judge between us. Past history is clearly on my side of the argument. The appeal to future history implies hopes but does not sustain an argument.

Believing as I do that human egoism, particularly in collective behavior, is too persistent to permit the establishment of a love anarchism, I am ready to use coercion and to recognize that we are in a coercive system. The editor regards my arguments upon this point as resting upon "slippery and shifty use of language." This answer, which seems to him adequate,[3] is to me a proof of the illusions under which modern Christian idealism works. Would he deny that, if I am a quiet old man who lives in a suburban villa tending my garden and abhorring all violence and even coercion, I am nevertheless profiting from coercion if my leisure should happen to rest upon income from, let us say, industrial bonds? Is it not obvious that if the workers in the industry from which I draw my income should decide forcibly to take part of my dividends for their wages, the organized police power of the state would support my right to retain "my property"? If the editor thinks that the economic and political organization of any society is not coercion he is merely illustrating the moral confusion in which a mechanical civilization lives. Older and more feudal civilizations were less deceived because those who profited from the sword actually carried it. Today we hire our soldiers and policemen. Such a civilization produces a host of humanitarians who draw their 6 per cent and abhor all violence. I do not say that the difference between violent and non-violent coercion is not important; but to make the difference absolute leads to moral confusion.[4]

In conclusion I feel constrained to say a further word about the question of the editor's and my living standards, though such a discussion borders on the indelicate and I therefore apologize for initiating it. The editor eases his conscience and mine by declaring our comfort and security to be necessary for the proper performance of our social function. That is a good argument and one which I use myself to quiet my uneasy conscience. But human egoism permits every such argument to become a bottomless well of rationalizations of unnecessary privilege. I detect such a rationalization in the editor's insistence that a lower living standard[5] would "destroy the authority and the very existence of The Christian Century." I wonder. Speaking for myself I could maintain health with less comfort than I have. That forces me to be critical of my comforts and to share them as much as possible with those who have less. But I do not share them as rigorously as I did when I served a poor congregation and therefore did not have the power to give or to

withhold. I use the same arguments which the editor uses in regard to my security. But that is probably a selfish rationalization. In the field of moral influence "the prestige which is derived from his connection with a great institution" is probably not as great as the prestige which a man would derive if he were honest enough to share the insecurity of those who hold his convictions but have the misfortune to depend for their livelihood upon less Christian institutions than the one with which I am connected.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

The Editor's Reply

IT WILL BE a matter of regret to our readers, as it is to me, that Mr. Niebuhr declines to meet the issues raised in our editorial of June 21 and in his own eight paragraphs upon which I commented in the issue of July 26. His present *de novo* statement seems to me to be a device for evading these issues, and I feel that it would be unprofitable to expand the discussion by a close analysis of what he now says. However, there are several minor comments which may be made. I have taken the liberty of inserting numerals in his text in order to focus my comments at the specific spot to which they apply. The reader will kindly read my numbered paragraphs as if they were footnotes to Mr. Niebuhr's text.

1. Mr. Niebuhr does injustice both to himself and to me when he confesses evil motives in this discussion and attributes the same to me. I have no pride of opinion in this discussion. Indeed, in so far as the element of pride enters in at all, I say in all sincerity that I have more pride in Mr. Niebuhr's opinion than in my own. Up to the appearance of his latest book, I have shown that pride in a consistent attitude of encouragement and respect both in public and in private. This goes back more than a dozen years, to the time when I first came into contact with his vigorous, analytic and creative mind, and introduced him to his present public through the pages of The Christian Century (which, I may add, will always remain open to him). There is no mind of the younger generation of our thinkers to which I am so greatly in debt. But I am convinced that in his latest book, "Moral Man and Immoral Society," my good friend and colleague has, as I previously said, brought confusion and misdirection into American religious thought. I have not been satisfied with the attempts made by such writers as Professor Coe, Mr. Norman Thomas, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Mr. Devere Allen, Professor Dewey and others to disclose wherein Mr. Niebuhr's thinking is at fault, and I therefore undertook to state my own critical objections. I have not the slightest personal stake in the outcome, and, in spite of Mr. Niebuhr's confession of egoistic sin, I believe he is quite guiltless of any such thing.

Mr. Niebuhr should, however, give us a new definition of the word "impracticable." He denies that the law of love is impracticable but says that he is "prevented" from practicing it by his egoism. He says he recognizes the law of love as "valid," yet it seems hardly to be valid *for him*. I say the law of love is practicable and valid, and when I say that, I mean that it is practicable and valid for Mr. Niebuhr and for me. I also say that if it is not valid and practicable for us it is not "valid" at all—it is mere sentimentalism.

2. Mr. Niebuhr will search in vain through all that I have written to find any support for the statement that I wish to "detain" him from engaging "in the political enterprise of establishing justice even if coercion is to be used to attain it." I would not state the enterprise in just that language, but I wish him Godspeed, and I think I would go with him. He will not find a syllable in my writings to support the statement that I "fondly believe" such ends can be achieved merely "by persuading selfish people to become unselfish."

3. Instead of saying that my answer was "adequate," I distinctly said the opposite. I rejected Mr. Niebuhr's theory of "coercion" without advancing any argument or explanation, but deferred its consideration. Nowhere have I written on this question.

4. I have nowhere suggested that the difference between violent and nonviolent "coercion" is absolute, nor do I so hold. The illustration of the "old man" has no relation to any question I have raised. I repeat, I have not written on the question of coercion. Mr. Niebuhr has confused my views with certain of his other critics.

5. Nor did I say that "a lower living standard" would destroy The Christian Century. I was replying to a concrete question put to me by Mr. Niebuhr involving not "a lower living standard" but a living standard lowered to a specific level which he named.

With these brief interpolations in the text of Mr. Niebuhr's statement, I am willing, though disappointed, to let the direct discussion end. It was my desire to go to the bottom of the questions raised in his book, in a friendly but honest discussion in the pages of The Christian Century. That seems to be impossible. But I can express my feeling of great respect for my colleague in no better way than to say that his doctrine must be reckoned with, and that, in connection with the many other pressing questions which pound for consideration in these pages, I feel that we must continue to honor Mr. Niebuhr from time to time by subjecting his views to further analysis. My criticism up to now has applied to his conception of religion, more than to his social or political views. My chief concern has been, if he will let me say it, to save him from that religious transcendentalism and illusionism to which his rich acquaintance with German theology predisposes him. My use of the word "fantastic" was not intended as an epithet carrying any personal invidiousness, but was applied to his religion of escape from the realistic social process. It is within this process, as I see it, that the Christian religion must live its life and find its God.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON.

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In Defense of the Stock Exchange

By Richard Whitney

IT IS ONE of the paradoxes of modern life that so many of its institutions are misunderstood almost in proportion to their real usefulness to society. Undoubtedly this is the case with stock exchanges. Many people see in the stock market only its momentary speculative surface, and never look beneath this restless froth and foam into the great economic tides which flow through it. To such a shortsighted view, stock exchanges take on the appearance of mere gambling casinos, where reckless wagers may be placed upon the meaningless fluctuations of prices. It seems needless to remark that if this were really the truth, the sooner all stock exchanges were abolished the better.

The confusion concerning the nature and functions of security markets is always greatest during depressions, when the shrinkage of earning power in industry inevitably impairs credit and depresses security and commodity prices. Investors and speculators alike experience severe losses, and very humanly wish to find a scapegoat for what in many cases are their own errors of judgment. One cannot easily attack the abstract law of supply and demand. It is always far easier to assail the stock exchanges. Such recurrent waves of fallacious opinion should not be taken too seriously. After all, short of a complete revolution in our whole economic system, we will always need stock exchanges, and with the return of normal business and its reflection in rising security prices, agitation against them speedily disappears. It is, however, unfortunate that such prejudices should gain currency at times of real financial strain, when every effort should be made to restore sound conditions, instead of being wasted in combatting foolish economic fallacies and false panaceas. Correct diagnosis must always remain the first necessary step in effecting genuine cures.

How Stock Exchanges Arose

Stock exchanges have evolved gradually during the course of several centuries, and to understand their present-day functions it is necessary to consider their past history. As their name implies, they are organizations by means of which money can be exchanged for securities, or securities for money. Until the seventeenth century there were no real stock exchanges in our sense of the term, because there were no bond or share issues. But when government financing came to be done by the creation of national debts and the issuance of government bonds, rather than by the private financial operations of the sovereign ruler, security investment began and there at once developed a need for a market where this new form of property could readily be priced, purchased and sold.

Similarly, so long as business enterprise remained a small-scale affair, business firms needed little capital and rarely organized as stock companies; hence, there were no company bonds or shares and no need of a market for them. But with the coming of the industrial revolution, steam power was for the first time harnessed to transportation and industrial production, business enterprises came to need extensive capital, stock companies were in consequence rapidly formed, and the frequent issue of corporate securities began. The new company bonds and shares thus created in turn needed a market where they could easily be bought and sold. These same conditions have arisen in all modern countries, earlier in some and later in others. But everywhere the effect was the same—the imperative need of a regular and dependable market for both government and company securities.

Necessity of Discipline

The form which such security markets ultimately assumed has also been roughly alike in all modern countries, and has followed a very similar course of natural evolution. The earliest security markets, both here and in Europe, sprang up in the already existing markets for wholesale materials and merchandise. In London, the first stockbrokers gathered in the Royal exchange, which had been erected primarily as a facility for merchants. In New York the original stockbrokers appeared in the mercantile auctions held on the wharves at the foot of Wall street, and in the adjacent coffeehouses frequented by merchants. As the volume of security transactions increased, however, a second stage of evolution occurred, in which the stockbrokers and security dealers organized separate markets in the streets. In London, they thronged in Exchange alley, in Paris in the Rue Quincampoix, and in New York in lower Wall street under the traditional buttonwood tree. The New York stock exchange met as a curb market in this way from 1792 to 1817, and in our own times the New York curb exchange held its meetings in lower Broad street until it went under a roof in 1921.

Stock exchange discipline and self-regulation are based squarely upon the power to expel, suspend or fine its members. Everywhere experience has shown that it is impossible in practice to regulate and control a market in the city streets, because brokers who employ improper tactics cannot be expelled, and dealings in improper security issues cannot be prevented. Accordingly, in every important financial center, the early curb markets have gradually moved indoors, adopted regulation for the business of their members, and enforced these rules by their power to deny admittance to such members as broke their rules. Upon this solid basis, elaborate but enforceable codes of conduct for stock exchange members have everywhere evolved.

This imposition of order and discipline upon the stock market, brought about by the organization of stock exchanges, constitutes one of their most important functions, and any comprehensive description of its many ramifications would make a fair-sized volume by itself. A particularly comprehensive code of rules has been gradually built up by the New York stock ex-

change, with which securities applying for admission to dealings on the exchange floor must comply; the listing requirements of the New York stock exchange are the most intensive and searching in the world, in their insistence upon compulsory publicity and other features designed to inform and protect the investing public. Admission to membership in the stock exchange is not merely a matter of purchasing a "seat," for the applicant must be formally elected, and if his record is in any way questionable, he will not be admitted. The methods which stock exchange members and their firms employ in their business are also subject to comprehensive and at the same time detailed regulations of the stock exchange constitution and rules. The governing committee of the exchange can prescribe severe penalties for actions by its members which could scarcely be successfully prosecuted in a public court of law.

From the economic standpoint, the basic function of stock exchanges consists in rendering securities more readily negotiable than they otherwise could be. How necessary this service is, should be obvious to anyone who will reflect what thrift and investment really involve. The fundamental reason why we shortsighted human beings are nevertheless willing to deny ourselves the enjoyment of present wants and satisfactions in order to save our money and invest it in securities, is because we all desire a reserve of funds to fall back on in emergencies. But if the securities in which savings are invested in this way cannot be readily sold whenever their owner wishes, one of the most important advantages of thrift has been nullified.

Basic Function

By organizing the security market, by maintaining elaborate wire systems to all parts of the country and likewise an almost instantaneous ticker system for dispatching and printing current quotations, the New York stock exchange is able to attract bids and offers for its listed issues from all parts of the nation and even from beyond its borders. Without this organization and these facilities which it maintains, the actual negotiability of listed securities would prove as uncertain and undependable as that for issues not admitted to the exchanges but dealt in "over the counter."

Always highly important, this factor of negotiability has been of vital significance during the most trying periods of the depression. At times when no other form of property was in fact readily salable, security holders could always avail themselves of the security market to obtain cash. The task of thus holding the stock exchange open and keeping it functioning has not always been an easy one, yet curiously enough the stock exchange authorities have sometimes been bitterly assailed by shortsighted persons at the very time when the free and open securities market, which they were maintaining under great difficulties, stood almost alone in the path of a wholesale moratorium of credit.

Another function of the stock exchange which is frequently misunderstood has to do with the prices established on its floor. Sometimes, when the trend of security prices does not please particular groups or individuals, they are apt to take the stock exchange itself to task for it. This is thoroughly illogical, for the stock exchange itself neither buys nor sells securities, and does not fix prices. The actual function of the stock exchange consists in maintaining a free and open market under strict rules and with convenient facilities, in which everyone can readily buy and sell. Prices in the stock market in consequence reflect the forces of supply and demand arising from the buying and selling orders of the whole public.

New Capital for Industry

Another important function of the stock exchange less seldom appreciated is the stimulus which its ready marketing machinery affords to the flow of new capital into industry. The stock market is not simply a passive meeting place where supply and demand come together—it is a dynamic mechanism whereby securities can be seasoned and gradually distributed to investors. In many cases an entirely new security issue will fail to attract conservative investors, who like to see a long and well-tested record of earning power behind the securities they purchase. The existence of an organized security market enables just this desired "seasoning" process to be carried on, and thus for new securities to pass gradually into investors' strongboxes. New issues can in turn be underwritten because there is this undertow of absorption of the older issues by investors. Upon these processes, the financing of large-scale industry and trade in turn depends.

With these and other equally basic functions of the stock market few have any quarrel. The principal point of criticism of the stock exchange is that its facilities are so commonly employed for "speculation." Yet a closer analysis of "speculation" itself will readily reveal the fact that it cannot be abolished, because it is needed to sustain risks inevitable and inherent in security ownership. If the stock market were available only to investors, it could not function continuously and therefore could not render securities truly and surely negotiable. What is more, new securities could be issued only with the greatest difficulty, since ordinarily it is the speculator who absorbs so large a part of them until they become "seasoned" and made attractive to investors. Economists have in fact long compared the economic function of speculation with that of insurance, because both provide methods for the absorption of risk. In the security market, the investor can avoid or shift his risks only because of the presence and activities of the speculator. The investor can purchase "seasoned" issues because the speculator has been willing to hold them until they were "seasoned." When his securities begin to show deterioration, the investor can sell them largely because the speculator will take them off his hands, with the risks they entail. If these risks of ownership could not be shifted in this way to speculators at the will of the investor, the latter would be forced to absorb them himself, and investment itself would of necessity become speculative.

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After the great fluctuations in security prices which have occurred all over the world in the last decade, it is natural that everyone should be anxious to see greater price stability in the stock market, and many superficially plausible schemes for artificially "stabilizing" the security market have been proposed. One trouble with such plans is that they fail to penetrate to the real bed rock of the situation. The only way to stabilize security prices is to stabilize industrial earning power. So long as earning power fluctuates, the prices of securities which depend upon it are bound to fluctuate. Artificial stabilization schemes for the stock market, granted that they were really workable, could only succeed in manipulating security prices in order to have them tell falsehoods concerning the security values which they should truthfully reflect. Any such perversions of security prices, however well meant, would entail the danger of creating a disparity between prices and values that could be corrected only by unusually violent and sudden price fluctuations.

Abolish Stock Gambling!

By John T. Flynn

WHENEVER an outcry goes up against speculation, there are always plenty of very respectable people to come forward with a warning against ill-advised action which may deprive the public of the beneficial effects of speculation. Grave abuses perhaps have appeared upon our markets. These abuses, we are assured, ought to be cured, of course, but alas! what person has appeared wise enough to perform the necessary surgical operation which will cut away the evils without killing the patient altogether?

Whenever an investigating committee or a public body wants to know about speculation, it sends for the president of the stock exchange or some brokers or a banker or two and probes their vast reservoirs of knowledge. The assumption is that the president of the stock exchange or the brokers know all about that phase of speculation which the investigator is interested in. They know indeed how to play the market, how to list stocks, how to borrow money on them, when, within certain limitations, to buy stocks and when to sell them and so forth.

Speculation Should Be Abolished

But all this is not what we are interested in now. We want to know what speculation is doing to our economic machine, what fruits it is producing in our social life. And these are precisely the points about which the eminent president of the exchange and his doughty brokers know next to nothing. We do not go to manufacturers of pills and bandages and gargles when we want to know about the hygienic effect of foods and medicines. We go to clinical experts. It does not follow that a man who has been a manufacturer or dealer in sausage all his life knows anything about the therapeutic effects of chopped horse meat on the community. If you want to know about speculation—its economic and social effects—then you must go to the clinical investigator who has examined the necessary data.

Here let me confess that when the inquirer after the truth goes to the clinical investigator he is doomed to disappointment. I attempted that myself years ago. I have been for many years a student of the economic and social effects of speculation. Nevertheless I came to the conclusion some five or six years ago that I knew nothing about it, that all the mass of information I had collected was worthless—without any foundation in fact—just a collection of mere statements repeated over and over again. Therefore, I began to look for these essential facts. To my amazement I found that no one had ever taken the trouble to collect them.

It is an amazing thing that no first-class economist has ever taken the trouble to examine in a scientific spirit this important phenomenon in our economic life. At intervals the government has investigated speculation and the stock exchange. But the investigation has generally limited itself to more or less sensational abuses by individuals, rather than to an examination of the underlying economic forces. It is for this reason that I began to collect material with a view to forming an intelligent opinion about the subject. In the last few years, with so many new agencies for collecting data, it has been possible to assemble a mass of information bearing on the subject. And from this I have come to the conclusion that speculation in securities performs no useful function whatever and that it should be abolished.

By speculation in securities I mean the buying of stocks or bonds with the purpose of making a profit out of the change in the market price of those securities. That is important to remember.

Investment and Speculation

When a man puts up ten thousand dollars in a new enterprise and receives stock for his share, and does it with the intention of supplying funds to the enterprise in the expectation that some day that enterprise by prudent management may grow into a large and profitable business, he is not speculating in securities. He is investing. There is a certain speculative element in his act. He takes a chance. There is a large risk. But that is only an incident. His purpose is to collaborate by putting up his money in the development of a productive business and to get his rewards out of the business. Whatever speculation may be in this act is in the enterprise and not in the securities issued by it.

The security speculator is very different. He is the

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man who seldom if ever puts money into any enterprise, for remember when you buy a share of stock in Wall Street you do not add a dime to any productive business. The money represented by that stock is already in the business. Perhaps it is a hundred dollars for each share. If you pay $200 for that share the money goes into the pocket of the man who sells you the stock. This market speculator, then, who buys a share for $200 because he thinks he can sell it to someone else in a week or a month for $250 must be seen as performing a very different kind of act from the man who puts his money into a business and looks to the business for his profits. One man is investing in an enterprise. The other is speculating in stocks.

I lay stress on this because whenever an apologist of the exchange sets out to defend the practice of speculation he promptly confuses these two operations. He tells how the building of our early railroads, our great industries, were all the work of the men who speculated —who risked their earnings and their strength in the hope of great rewards. We may well grant that the risks and labors of our industrial pioneers produced our present industries. But that was not security speculation.

Real Values and Watered Stock

Our early railroads, our oil industry, our steel industry, our motor industry, were all initiated and built up to the highest levels by pure investors, men who put their money and energy into the industries. When those industries were developed, it was then that the promoter came along, united these vast enterprises into countless mergers, without adding anything to them in either money or plant, and issued vast oceans of watered stocks against them, listed these on the stock exchanges and set the public to speculating in them. Did Andrew Carnegie or John D. Rockefeller or Henry Ford build their giant industries as "security speculators"?

Andrew Carnegie built the Carnegie Steel works. He brought it to the highest development. All the stock belonged to him and a few partners. The actual money value of the whole business was not over $75,000,000. Carnegie himself and his partner Frick appraised it at $160,000,000 and they issued bonds against it for that full amount. Such stock as they issued was pure water. Then along came Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan with his United States Steel corporation. He took over Carnegie's bonds and stock—real value only $160,000,000—and gave him $380,000,000 in bonds of the new company and $180,000,000 in its stocks—stocks which represented nothing. All told, Morgan issued half a billion dollars worth of common stock in the Steel corporation to various persons for which not one dollar was paid. It was not until all this was done—until the solid building of Carnegie, the building of a constructive investor, was accomplished that speculation in the shares of his great work, merged into the Steel corporation, began.

The great argument for speculation is that if it did not exist no one would ever put any money into corporate stock because he would not be able to sell it when in need of money. This is an argument for a stock exchange, but not for speculation. There ought to be an exchange. It should be a place to which a man who owns a share of stock in a corporation could go and find a buyer for it, if there is some other person who wishes to invest in the stock of that corporation.

A Continuous Market

The exchange officials contend, however, that without speculation the exchange would be inefficient. To be efficient it must have a continuous market. And to have a continuous market you must have speculation. This involves two propositions. One that you must have a continuous market, the other that speculation is essential to that. But why must there be a continuous market? Why must it be possible for a man who invests in a fixed investment to be able to find at any minute of the day a buyer for his stock? Why should it be possible for a buyer of stock to be able to pick up his telephone, ring up his broker and order him to sell his shares and thus be rid of them in ten minutes? What becomes of the function of ownership? What becomes of the responsibilities of ownership? Is not this one of the reasons why shareholders do not care a hoot what directors do with their companies and their property? If the corporation doesn't suit them, why—a jingle of the phone, an order to the broker, and the stock is sold. The shareholder has stepped from under his responsibilities as an owner of a great enterprise which employs thousands of men and serves hundreds of thousands of the community. I attribute this indifference of the shareholder and the complete extinction of the functions of ownership to this curse of marketability.

But it is not true that unless men find a ready and instantaneous market for their shares they will not invest in enterprise. It is only a few years ago that a bank president was bemoaning that people still preferred real estate investment to corporate investment. People still put countless millions into small industries, into real estate, into real estate bonds and into innumerable corporations not listed on any exchange—investments for which there is no immediate and ready market.

Speculation Does Not Support Industry

The most effective answer to this whole argument, however, is that the speculative mechanism of the stock exchange does not assist in supplying capital funds to industry. I have made a study of the stocks of innumerable corporations and find that for the most part these stocks yield almost no actual capital to enterprise. Take the steel industry as an example. The three great units are United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel and Republic Steel. All of these corporations were formed by mergers. When the mergers took place, the stock in almost every case was issued without any capital contribution whatever. The plants were turned in for bonds and preferred stock. The common stocks were passed out as so much water. Had they never been issued the steel industry would not have been deprived of a dollar of capital. Of course, in the course of time

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these stocks have come to have a value backed by the earning power of the company. But this value has come out of earnings. But very little of it has ever been contributed by a common stockholder paying any money into the coffers of the corporation.

It may come as a surprise to many, but it is fact, that the great bulk of the real capital for industry is supplied by bonds and preferred stocks and not by common stocks, which is the medium in which almost all the speculation on the exchanges takes place.

How Stocks are Issued

This is not all. It would not be possible to emit the overwhelming floods of watered stocks were it not for the speculative machinery of the exchange. Stocks as a rule are not sold publicly. Bonds are. The stocks are generally issued to the insiders. This is what happened in United States Steel. A half billion dollars of common stock was sold privately to the insiders who put up nothing for the shares. Then they were listed on the stock exchange. Then a market manipulator (in this case the notorious James R. Keene) was employed to make a market for them. Making a market for a stock is a neat little process. The manipulator gives orders to many brokers to buy and to many others to sell. He keeps changing the buying and selling prices to suit the exigencies of his campaign, always raising the bids a little. This produces an appearance of activity in the stocks and at the same time acts to push its price up. Outsiders see this and are induced to come in and buy. This, of course, is all helped along by the proper publicity. As this trading goes along, the insiders gradually unload their stock until the public has most of it. This is the almost universal way of disposing of stock in large mergers. Almost invariably the stock represents no capital contribution to the corporation or a very small one compared with the price at which the insiders unload it.

The exceptions to this were the investment trusts in 1928 and 1929. They sold publicly large quantities of stock. But this stock brought no money into productive business. All the money was used merely to buy other already listed stocks.

Corporations as Stock-Factories

The speculative machinery thus used to feed new shares to the public is used also by all sorts of adventurers to manipulate the price of innumerable shares. It is common to say that our market is now too big to be manipulated by any man or set of men. Of course that is just trifling with the subject. No man could go in and manipulate the whole market. But he can manipulate the prices of individual stocks. And in Wall street all the time are groups of men acting as pools, as well as large numbers of individual operators, who are constantly at work manipulating prices up—usually up—in syndicate drives. Our recent market break was the result of these operations. In one stock alone (National Distillers) the entire issue was sold eight times over in just nine weeks. There are other corporations whose entire issue of shares regularly changes hands on the exchange every month.

The two most serious features of speculation are, first, the effect on the management of our great corporations, and secondly, the effect upon our banks.

Corporation managers and directors can make ten times as much in the market with their own stocks and the stocks of their colleagues from whom they obtain inside information as they can from their salaries as corporation executives. The result is that many corporations are run primarily as manufactories of stocks and instruments for stock market profits rather than as public producing machines.

As for our banks, the crying curse of the American banking system is its almost complete drift away from the primary functions of banking. Banks have fallen into the hands of men interested in securities and hence the funds of banks have come more and more to find their way into security loans. There has been a false theory that these are liquid. But this is a delusion. Stocks are fixed capital investments and they do not belong in bank portfolios. Bank funds ought to be used as the working capital of the community and as nothing else.

Disguised Gambling

One more point. The stock exchange has expended hundreds of thousands of dollars to prove that speculation is not gambling. The reason is obvious. There are laws covering gambling and speculative contracts could not be enforced if they were gambling contracts. But, while they may succeed in evading the legal consequences of gambling, they cannot evade the economic and ethical. A game of chance is a game of chance no matter how you disguise it. In Wall street it takes the form of buying and selling stocks. In Florida some years ago the race track gang tried to get around the anti-gambling laws by making every bettor on a horse buy a mythical share ownership in the horse. When the horses went to the post they were just a group of animals owned in theory by the large groups of people who had bet on them. All the bets were put together and constituted the purse on the race. When a horse won, the people who owned him won. The purse was distributed among all the owners of the horse. They did not bet. They merely collected the prize which went to the group of horse owners. Now you can disguise a real gambling operation in a fiction like that, but it is still gambling, and so is ninety per cent of what takes place on the stock exchange.

Every state should enact a law and congress should make a similar enactment which would do away with margin buying and short selling of common or any other kind of stocks in corporations. Then our corporation laws should be overhauled to prohibit the manipulation of corporate structures for speculative and promotional purposes. Then our banks should be driven ruthlessly out of the speculative markets. The exchange might then be maintained under government auspices as a place where owners of shares could come to find buyers of shares, with the whole nest of speculators and gamblers driven out of our financial markets and to our race tracks, our crap parlors, our pool rooms and keno hells where they belong.

Germany Must Be Told!

By Reinhold Niebuhr

EVIDENCES multiply that the German nazi effort to extirpate the Jews in Germany is proceeding with unexampled and primitive ferocity. The protestations of Germans to their friends in other lands that their nation is the victim of atrocity propaganda on the part of the Jews and that everything is quiet and peaceful in their native land may be honest, but the average German is completely in the dark about what is happening in his own nation. Every newspaper report is inspired by the government and reveals no more than it wishes to reveal.

The admitted facts are so revolting that only a people who are suffering from a national neurosis would react to those facts with as much complacency as most of the Germans do. For the admitted fact is that the nazi government is determined to reduce the Jews to second rate citizenship and to destroy their livelihood. This is called "humane extirpation," but it can be regarded as humane only by those who believe that starvation is a more humane form of murder than the bullet or poison. The policy of forcing Jews out of every conceivable employment continues with a consistent inhumanity which beggars description.

Protest Impossible

In one week all doctors who serve "panel patients," according to the provisions of the German sickness insurance system, lose their semi-official status and are forbidden to serve their patients. The following week doctors who serve wealthier patients, and have therefore escaped the government ukase, find themselves bereft of a clientele by a government order to insurance companies not to honor the bills of Jewish doctors. Department stores are forced to dismiss their Jewish employes or face new government restrictions. Banks are asked to call in all loans held by Jews. Lawyers who because of their war record are still allowed to practice law are unmercifully beaten up by nazi thugs on their way to court.

Any protest of such atrocities with the police merely means that the victim will be arrested and sentenced to jail "for spreading atrocity propaganda." It is practically impossible for Jews to reach any government officials. No matter how influential, they are not listened to. They cannot discover the government policy in regard to emigration. The government has no consistent policy on that matter. In some districts Jews are able to secure passports and in some districts not. All representations in regard to the Jewish question are met either with silence or with Minister Goebbel's inclusive rejoinder, "We did not promise the Jews any mercy and we are showing them none."

Besides the admitted facts of government policy there are many other aspects of the German ferocity against the Jews about which the average German citizen knows nothing. The Germans constantly remind the visitor that the streets are quiet, and invite him to observe the peacefulness of the cities for himself. But they know little of what goes on in nazi barracks, concentration camps and nazi hide-outs. There Jews are brought, frequently unmercifully beaten and sometimes killed. If killed, their bodies are sent home in a sealed casket with orders not to open it. Every remonstrance is useless. There is no longer a free public opinion or an unbiased court to appeal to. If a Jew should happen to have a radical record as either a socialist or a communist his life is simply worth nothing. He can be killed and no questions are asked. If he is not killed he is subjected to indignities which had better be called sadistic perversities, details of which are unprintable.

Perhaps the sorriest plight is that of the children. They are forced into segregated seats in the schools and are even addressed as "Jud so-and so" by the teacher, in some schools at least. Some Jewish communities are considering the establishment of special schools for their children, to save them from these constant indignities, but they must proceed without any knowledge whether the government may not regard such a venture as treasonable. Meanwhile the minds of the gentile children are poisoned by new history texts in which every misery from which Germany suffers since the war is attributed to the Jews. According to these texts the German armies would have been victorious but for the "Jewish stab in the back." The Jews are also held responsible for the "Versailles outrage" and for the Dawes and the Young plans. The fact is that the nazis have a new mythology in which the Jew is cast in the role of the devil. Naturally the German Jews realize that this propaganda is making their life completely untenable, not only in the present moment but for years to come. Migration seems to be the only possibility, but already anti-semitism is raising its ugly head in Switzerland and Austria because of Jewish immigrations to nations with their own unemployment problems. France too is becoming restive.

Three Million Persons Involved

The problem is of much larger dimensions when it is recognized that according to nazi definition anyone who has either a Jewish grandfather or grandmother is a Jew. This means that something like three million rather than six hundred thousand people are affected. Many of these Jews are Christians and most of them are so thoroughly assimilated that they are much more German than distinctively Jewish. Since Jewish relief naturally goes first of all to the Jews who are in organic contact with the Jewish religious life, the relief of the Christian Jews is a

task which ought to arouse the Christian church in the outside world to a prodigious relief program.

The total situation is such a dismal one that one wonders whether anything can be done to prevent one of the darkest pages in modern history from becoming even more tragic. The Jewish boycott will probably do more harm than good, at least from the perspective of the Jews who are still in Germany and who must suffer from the increased ferocity which the boycott instills in the nazis. This boycott is like waging a war against a nation which holds over a million of your own hostages and which may be sufficiently angered by hostilities practically to exterminate the hostages. The fact is that all Jewish actions, whether boycotts or protests, are insignificant in their effect compared to what Christian pressure might be able to accomplish.

The English church has been much more active in this matter than the American church. The recent address of the archbishop of Canterbury, sober in tone but relentless in its condemnation of the nazi anti-semitism, is alleged to have had the first sobering effect upon nazi ferocity. It would seem that the Christian churches of America therefore have a clear obligation laid upon them to offer every possible resistance to the inhumanities of the present German regime. They ought to do this both by public pronouncements and meetings in various localities and by pressure upon the Washington government. The English government as well as the English church has been much more outspoken in its criticism than we.

It would be well if the Christian churches avoided all hysteria in these utterances, and solemnly recognized that our own sins of indifference have helped to create the neurosis from which the German people are now suffering. We are faced with a tragic situation in which no one can cast the first stone because no one is without sin. Yet we must, in spite of our own sins, do what we can to inform the German people of the impression which their actions make upon sane people. There is some hope that it will persuade them to a larger measure of sanity.

Unfortunately not a great deal can be expected of the German church since it has been brought completely under government control. The army chaplain who is destined to become the "reichsbishop" took occasion in the first address after the victory of his party, the "German Christians," to insist that Jesus was the first anti-semite and that he lost his life in his fight against Judaism. There are of course elements in the church which are strongly opposed to these doctrines. But they are so preoccupied with the problem of the autonomy of the church and with the effort to prevent aryanizing the church that they will have little to say upon the anti-semitism of the state. They have at least said very little in the past. There is no particular reason why the churches of other nations should refrain from rigorous action out of deference to the feelings of German Christians. They ought to know how the Christian community in the world feels about this problem. The sorry inaction of the German church is illustrated by the fact that an appeal of German Jews to help them prevent the government from insisting that Jewish children must recite the Lord's prayer in schools was answered by a prompt protest from the Catholic church and by equivocation on the part of the Protestants. The Catholic church, of course, has a freedom through the concordat between the pope and the government, which the Protestant church sadly lacks.

BOOKS

Dr. Orchard's Apologia

FROM FAITH TO FAITH. *By W. E. Orchard. Harper & Brothers,* $2.00.

WHEN Dr. Orchard made the transition from Congregationalism (of his own peculiar sort) to Roman Catholicism, it was obviously only a matter of months until he would set forth in print the reason that impelled him. Rome expects every convert of such prominence and capacity to rise in meeting and testify, and his former nonconformist colleagues were as eager to hear his apologia as he was to pronounce it. Besides, it was the more incumbent upon him to tell why he is a Catholic because as recently as 1930 he had published the reasons why he was not. (See "Why I Am and Why I Am Not a Catholic," by ten writers, five on each side.)

The story of his religious life, as he now tells it, is the moving record of a deep religious experience. Strangely enough, considering the purpose for which it was written, the most moving part of it is that which has to do with events long before his "reconciliation to Rome." During the long years of his preaching and serving, there were depths of religious experience that are beautiful to contemplate—experiences that even came to include almost everything that he later valued as characteristic of the Catholic faith. Though he tells us how the word "detest" in his act of submission stuck in his throat, and by what sophistries (only he does not call them that) he was brought to utter it, it is quite clear that he cannot even claim to have gained any new or finer quality in his faith. He is "forced to affirm . . . that if I had supernatural faith at all, I must have had it forty years ago, only now I saw what it implied and demanded." What that faith came to seem to him to demand was the acceptance of the authority of Rome; what it *was,* and what it meant to him in communion with God and insight into the realities of the spiritual life, is just what it has always been. Viewed as the history of a soul, if one could read it without prejudice for or against the communion which he has left or the one which he has joined, one would have to say that the last chapter in that history is empty and dull. Everything of importance that was going to happen had already happened. The conclusion is vain and impotent.

Dr. Orchard is not only frank but insistent in maintaining that the religion which he learned as a boy in an evangelistic meeting of the Moody and Sankey type had in it the qualities of a genuine catholicity, and that all through the years of his nonconformity he was enjoying the blessings of a truly Catholic faith. It is a significant admission that must be noted in

connection with the "detestation" which he finally persuaded himself to affirm because "it seemed ridiculous to have come so far and then to be kept out by one word. I could not go back now; the prospect of being out in the wilderness appalled me." With however straight a face he was at last able to sign the declaration of submission, "detest" and all, it is evident that he does not detest the things from which he has separated himself. He regrets that they are separated from Rome, but he looks back with gratitude and affection and appreciation.

Among the most thorough reviews of Dr. Orchard's book are the three that appeared in the Hibbert Journal for July, representing respectively the Roman Catholic, the Anglican and the nonconformist points of view. They agree in losing sight of Dr. Orchard, to a great extent, and debating the issues between Roman Catholicism and its critics. It is an illuminating discussion, to which Dr. Orchard himself opens the way by devoting the last third of his book to a general argument for the Catholic claims. It is impossible to discuss either that argument or the discussion of it here.

One turns from the reading of the life story of this great "convert" with unabated admiration for his sincerity as a man but with a sadly damaged estimate of his intellectual integrity. The alternative to Rome is "division, confusion, and uncertainty." Only Rome stands rigid in her claim to infallibility and haughty in her exclusiveness. But the idea that one can escape all the uncertainty by which truth is clouded by the simple process of ascribing infallibility to the agency that claims it most loudly is not one that can be embraced by anyone whose mind is facing the realities. Dr. Orchard's desire for a universal authority and his willingness to see the church and the world and the mind of man regimented under the discipline of a commander claiming infallibility, has much the character of an appeal for the establishment of a sort of spiritual martial law in a time of panic. In spite of the calmness and restraint of style, his mood is that of panic. The bottom is dropping out of the world. Men cannot find the truth that they need or create the restraints that they require. "Everything save Rome is standing on a slippery slope." "Do we not want someone to stand firmly somewhere?" No! Not unless we can infallibly know that the one who claims infallibility actually has it, and not unless we are sure that the one who stands immovable is standing in the right place.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

THE CHRIST OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. *By W. Douglas Mackenzie. The Macmillan Company,* $2.00.

In the lectures and other material that have been collected in this volume, Dr. Mackenzie presents in the strongest light the arguments for that conservative christology which may be summed up in the phrase, the deity of Jesus. The evidence in support of that position falls into two main divisions: that the consciousness of Jesus himself, as revealed in the synoptic gospels, included as a basic fact the assurance of his own deity; and that it is this conception of his person which furnished the foundation upon which the church was built and which has been the most potent factor in the moral regeneration of man.

THE FIRST WIFE, AND OTHER STORIES. *By Pearl S. Buck. John Day,* $2.50.

Mrs. Buck's fame as a novelist has perhaps obscured her deserved high reputation as a writer of short stories. Among the stories here collected are some which were written before "The Good Earth," including the one in which the leading character of that novel first appeared, and others which were written later to show the results of the Yangtse flood and to get relief for its victims. In general Mrs. Buck, although a former missionary, does not write for any promotional or propaganda purpose; but even when she does she writes as an artist. Here, one feels, are not only the deep realities about the soul of China, but some of the basic truths about human nature regardless of race.

DOUBLE-CROSSING AMERICA BY MOTOR. *By Edward D. Dunn. G. P. Putnam's Sons,* $2.00.

Cross-country motor travelers may find some useful information in this day-by-day, mile-by-mile and dollar-by-dollar record of a journey from coast to coast and back again. Most of the material is very elementary, but it is presented clearly and without affectation or pretense.

The Question Box

The thesis of the recent book by Dr. Morrison, "The Social Gospel and the Religious Cultus," seems to be that the prophetic and the priestly elements in any religion must work hand in hand if the ideals expressed by the prophets are to become part of the religious belief of the people. We usually think of the priests and the prophets being antagonistic to each other. Are there instances in the Bible of these two orders working together, with the priest incorporating in the ritual the ideals expressed by the prophets? H. C. D., Boise, Idaho.

RITUAL was not the result of deliberate creative activity on the part of any one religious group. It was the slow accumulation of cultus habits derived from many sources, both within and outside of the community.

It was inevitable that the prophets, whose chief interest lay in the non-liturgical areas of morals, loyalty to national ideals, and adherence to the higher values of justice, mercy and humility, should view with a certain disfavor the ceremonial features of religion. The Old Testament is the record of incessant protest on the part of such leaderlike prophets as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah against the externalism and futility of many of the temple ministries on which emphasis was laid by the priestly orders of their time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the priests, who corresponded more nearly to the village pastors of later days, were probably much closer to the people, and through the unfailing ministries of the local sanctuaries safeguarded the individual, family and community life as the less parochial even though more vigorous and visioned prophets could not do.

Nor must the outbursts of prophetic indictment against the formalism and self-interest of the priests be understood to imply an attitude of unvarying antagonism. The problems of loyalty to God and to the sanctities of the national faith were too acute to allow the prejudices of their respective orders to obscure their common responsibilities. They were driven to frequent cooperation by the exigencies of the hour. Some of them combined in themselves the status and the interests of both groups, as in the cases of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The manner in which the prophetic and priestly documents of the Old Testament are woven together and emphasize identical principles of belief and conduct is further proof of a measure of cooperative activity.

Probably the most notable instance of common devotion to a great task is found in the production of the code of Deuteronomy, which appears to have been the work of prophets and priests working in unison to preserve the national religion in a time of pagan reaction. That work embodies the traditions of the age of Moses, the best ideals of the prophets in the long succession that followed him, and as well the priestly revision and reinterpretation of the Book of the Covenant, which for centuries had been the law code of the tribes. The ritual acts which grew out of the discovery of that volume in the reign of Josiah were the result of harmonious and essential activities by both priests and prophets, and shaped the cultus of the nation for the remainder of its organized life.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Cleveland Will Eliminate Slums

Dr. Blanchard Considers "Real Estate or Morals"—The Bradleys Celebrate Golden Wedding—Vacation Schools

(Correspondence from Cleveland)

CLEVELAND, O., July 29.—Cleveland is setting up a great program of slum elimination. It is planning to rebuild the Negro section. Because of the large number of Negro churches involved, Mayor Miller has placed the president, executive secretary, and social welfare chairman of the Federated churches upon his housing committee.

Dr. Ferdinand Q. Blanchard, pastor of Euclid avenue Congregational church, preached last Sunday on "Real Estate or Morals." "This antithesis is ageless and timeless," said Dr. Blanchard. "It exists in Cleveland today as it did in Jerusalem in Ezekiel's time. The claim of the representatives of the Jerusalem chamber of commerce 600 years before Christ was that so long as property values were good and rebuilding was underway everything was all right. It was real estate as typical of all material development over against morals as the primary concern."

* * *

Celebrate Golden Wedding

Dr. and Mrs. Dan F. Bradley have just celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. Fifty-two years ago Dr. Bradley entered one of Cleveland's jewelry stores to purchase an engagement ring. Last month he returned to the same store for an anniversary ring. Not one member of the large concern of 52 years ago is now living. Even the office boy has "passed on." Dr. Bradley is the very active and efficient pastor of Pilgrim Congregational church. He preached last Sunday morning and left on Monday with Mrs. Bradley for a six weeks vacation in Michigan.

* * *

Dr. Higginbottom Returns to India

Dr. Sam Higginbottom, principal of Allahabad agricultural institute, after a year in America has sailed for India to resume his work as a missionary of the Presbyterian church. Dr. Higginbottom is a member of the staff of the Church of the Covenant, in Cleveland. He has received the Ph.D. degree from Princeton university and the Kaisir-'hind medal for distinguished public service from the British government.

* * *

Father Le Blond Goes To Missouri

Cleveland's best beloved priest, Father Hubert Le Blond, who for many years has been director of Catholic charities, has been elevated to the position of bishop of St. Joseph, Mo. Father Le Blond was born in Cleveland. He is still a young man and his friends of all faiths are wishing him long years of successful service in his new field.

* * *

Vacation Bible Schools

The vacation Bible schools in the Negro Baptist churches report an enrolment of almost 4,000 children. Mayor Miller and the executive secretary of the Federated churches joined Dr. D. R. Sharpe, of the Baptist union, in a tour of visitation of these schools one day recently. Mayor Miller, who is a Catholic, addressed the different groups with such finesse that the accompanying clergymen threatened to ordain him before the tour was completed.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. William Pearson Tolly, president of Allegheny college, was the guest speaker at Plymouth Congregational church last Sunday. The pastor, Dr. Miles H. Krumbine, is spending his vacation in the east.

Rev. Neil Crawford, pastor of West Boulevard Christian church, and a son-in-law of Dr. W. E. Garrison, of The Christian Century, after preaching a sermon on civic responsibility was urged by his people to become a candidate for the school board. The challenge was accepted and Mr. Crawford is making a strong appeal for election.

At a recent Sunday morning service in Emmanuel Presbyterian church, Rev. Leroy C. Hansel, pastor, received 100 new members into the church. He is planning to receive another 100 at Christmas time. Mr. Hensel is building up a large membership in a very difficult field.

Rev. Paul F. H. Schwan, pastor emeritus of St. Paul's Evangelical church, has just celebrated the 60th anniversary of his ministry. He has served the congregation of this one church since its beginning in 1873. He still officiates at many of the services of the church.

DON D. TULLIS.

Dr. Abernethy and "Cabinet" Plan Tour Among Northern Baptists

Pres. W. S. Abernethy and his assisting cabinet have decided that the program of the Northern Baptist convention for the year 1933-34 shall be built around the theme, "Live It Through." This idea will be set before one or more general meetings to be held at central points in each of the states. Three teams will be formed to tour the Northern Baptist territory and conduct the central meetings. There will be the "presidential party" led by Dr. and Mrs. Abernethy; the "first vice-presidential party" to be headed by Dr. W. G. Spencer, of Franklin college; and the "second vice-presidential party" of which Rev. C. W. Kemper of Charleston, W. Va., will be the leader. "Echo meetings" will be held throughout each state. Dr. Abernethy's "cabinet" includes five prominent Baptist leaders, among them Rev. F. C. Stifler and Dr. Austen K. DeBlois.

O'Ryan Candidacy Held 'Sell-Out'

Mr. Seabury Believes Tammany Dictated Choice—City Tax on Beer—Inquiry On Home Missions Completed

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, July 29.—After long and wearisome discussion it appears that the fusionists have chosen a candidate to run against Tammany this fall. The group headed by former Gov. Charles S. Whitman has selected one of our best known heroes of the world war, Major General John F. O'Ryan, commander of the 27th division, as the anti-Tammany candidate for mayor. Samuel Seabury calls this selection a complete sell-out to Tammany and suggests that Tammany itself dictated the choice. It begins to look as if there would be no effective opposition to our present corrupt regime. As usual, those who would make a real fight somehow can't get together. John F. Curry still runs the city.

* * *

For City Tax On Beer

Fred A. Victor, superintendent of the Anti-saloon league of this state, has sent an open letter to our governor suggesting a way out of the city's financial troubles. After recounting that the real answer to the problem lies in cutting out waste and extravagance, he said that if this were not to be done then increased taxes must be levied. For this increased tax he suggested a levy of two cents on every half pint glass of beer and three cents on every twelve ounce bottle. Mr. Victor estimates that this would amount to $3,500,000 a month for the city. In addressing the governor Mr. Victor said: "A city that can waste $32,000,000 on beer in 55 days ought not to be given state aid."

* * *

The Relief Situation

As recorded in my previous correspondence, the relief situation is most critical. The city must either effect drastic economies or greatly increase its income if it is to care properly for the unemployed and those dependent upon them. To Tammany Hall economies which decrease its plunder are unthinkable, so the problem is one of finding a larger income. But the obstacle in finding this larger income is to secure the state legislation which will permit the tapping of new sources. The governor has called the legislature into special session but he shows no disposition to let Tammany dictate to him what he shall do. Moreover, Tammany does not have the requisite votes in the legislature to secure what it wants. In the meantime, the relief situation grows worse. So serious is it that the informal committee of ministers and social workers which held the hearings

this spring is issuing a statement early this coming week protesting "in the name of humanity against this continued victimizing of our most defenseless citizens. The unemployed should not longer be tortured on the altar of inadequate management of the affairs of government. . . . . Whatever may be the necessary measures justly to remedy these conditions, they must be determined upon quickly by the state and city governments, and put into operation without further delay."

* * *

Civil Court Upholds Dr. Guthrie

It will be recalled that the ousted vestry at St. Mark's in-the-Bouwerie appealed to the civil courts a few weeks ago. This case came on to the supreme court and that body has now handed down a decision favorable to the rector. This decision upholds the legality of the contested election in which Dr. Guthrie succeeded in ousting the vestrymen opposed to him.

* * *

Inquiry on Home Missions

For months past the institute of social and religious research has been investigating the work of our Protestant home missions to Catholic immigrants. The results of this study are now available in a book by Theodore Abel. Mr. Abel concludes that while this type of work has been carried on for more than 50 years and at a financial cost of over 50 million dollars (possibly 100 million would be a more accurate figure) "the mission enterprise has failed to realize the main purpose for which it was instituted. It has failed to accomplish to any significant degree the evangelization of Catholic immigrants and their descendants, and it has not achieved the control that it sought of directing the process of their adaptation to American life."

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

To Our Subscribers

It requires two weeks to make a change of address. It is necessary that our wrappers be addressed a full week ahead, and time is required to handle accurately the large volume of requests for change that come to us at this season of the year. Unless your vacation period is somewhat extended, we advise that you leave a few stamps with your postmaster, or postman, and ask to have your Christian Century forwarded to you. You thus avoid the risk of missing a copy both at the beginning and at the end of your vacation.

We desire that our readers shall not miss a single issue, and while we will gladly make any change of address requested, we are sure the risk of irregularity is greatly reduced by the plan we suggest.

In requesting change of address, subscribers will help us by observing the following suggestions:

(1) Give present as well as new address.

(2) If convenient, tear off and enclose address on present wrapper.

Publishers,
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY.

Fight Chicago's School Cuts

"Save Our Schools" Committees are Appointed — Churches Take Part in Festival Week—Institutes

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, July 31.—For many years the board of education has been one of Chicago's chief wasters. Any examination of building and maintenance costs, of the expense involved in frequent and unnecessary changes of textbooks, etc., will demonstrate that. The board has served the contractors well, but education badly. The alertness and resourcefulness of educators in the public school system, however, has built up a sound and progressive program of public education, in spite of profligate waste in the business management of the system which they could not control. Now, it appears, radical economies must be effected if the budget is to be balanced and the teachers paid. But the cost is to be borne by the children. A poverty-stricken educational program is to replace the rich modern curriculum which had been slowly developed. Junior high schools are to be discontinued, half the kindergartens closed, Crane junior college closed, and hundreds of special positions abolished. The Parental school is to be severely cut, the vocational guidance bureau abolished, visiting teachers and physical education teachers in elementary schools discontinued, and so on all along the line. All the so-called "fads and frills" which are designed to meet the urgent needs of our modern life, particularly in urban communities, are gone, and we are reduced to the "three R's."

And how was all this accomplished? By the appointment of a practically new board of education, totally innocent of experience or knowledge in educational administration, by an almost new mayor who is himself in fact an appointee of a political party county chairman although he was technically elected by the city council. Unquestionably back of it all there was the hand of some group which knew what it wanted and knew how to get it.

* * *

Widespread Protest

Possibly the action may yet be rescinded, although the outlook is less hopeful now than it was a week ago. Twenty-five thousand people jammed the stadium in a protest meeting July 21, and a representative "Save-our-schools" committee was appointed which has been busy ever since. Literally hundreds of protest meetings have been held in all parts of the city. At the board of education meeting, July 26, when the "economy" program was finally adopted, the room was crowded to capacity with protesting parents and representatives of women's clubs and other organizations; 1500 other interested persons struggled for admission, but could not be accommodated. Petitions with 350,000 signatures were presented demanding that the order be rescinded. On the board, however, the only protesting voice was that of Mrs. W. S. Hefferan, a holdover trustee, who has always been a proponent of sound educational policy.

Educators, not only in the public school system but in the colleges and universities of the city and state, deplore and oppose the program of the board, and insist that as great a saving might be effected, if necessary, without thus crippling the educational system. Superintendent Bogan has offered to submit such a program to the board but has not been permitted to do so. There probably never has been such widespread protest against any action of the board of education.

It is time not only to insist that this policy of the board be rescinded, but to demand that the board of education be abolished. There are other and better ways of managing public education.

* * *

Churches to Participate In Festival Week

Soldiers field, which has already witnessed some of the largest religious gatherings in history—the Catholic eucharistic congress a few years ago and the recent Jewish pageant "The Romance of a People" among them—will gather another congregation of perhaps equal proportions on Sunday evening, Aug. 13, when at least 18 Protestant denominations under the auspices of the Chicago church federation and other interchurch organizations will cooperate in a great service which will initiate Festival week at the Century of Progress. Dr. Joshua Oden, pastor of Irving Park Lutheran church, is chairman of the committee in charge. A service, calling for mass participation, which will combine elements common to practically all Christian bodies, is being planned. The outstanding feature, Dr. Oden says, will be "the union of 100,000 voices in the great hymns which have changed the world, rather than the spoken word of any one voice."

* * *

And So Forth

A notable assemblage of scholars was brought together for the Haskell institute and lectures during the past two weeks. The second series of lectures will be given this week by Mr. K. Natarajan, of Bombay, editor of the Indian Social Reformer.

The second annual Pastors' institute, conducted jointly by the divinity school of the University of Chicago and the Chicago theological seminary, begins today. A rich program is offered. The pastors' conference conducted by the Presbyterian theological seminary has just closed. It was eminently successful and attracted a large attendance from a wide area.

"De Lawd" of "The Green Pastures," Mr. Richard B. Harrison, will play a leading role in "The Epic of a Race," the Negro pageant to be presented at A Century of Progress the evening of Aug. 12.

The Chicago church federation's 1933 year book, which is just off the press, reviews 100 years of church history in Chicago. It is an interesting and at times amazing story. The last 25 years has seen an encouraging growth of the cooperative spirit.

More than 750,000 persons are reported to have visited the Hall of Religion at the Fair to date.

Chicago business concerns are hastening to sign the President's code. Soon the air will be filled with blue eagle flags.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Honor for 'Social Gospel' Preacher

Shreveport Minister Upheld in Fight for Labor—Repeal in the Southland—New Trial for Negroes—Lynchings

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, August 1.—Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, young pastor of the Kingshighway Christian (Disciples) church in Shreveport has for the past two years been preaching an impassioned gospel of social justice. He has large congregations and a vast radio audience over KDKH, the famous Henderson station. Recently he denounced a projected sale of Doherty public utility stock and helped the paper makers, whose wages were as low as 12½ cents per hour, to organize. As a result the largest contributor in his church called him to his office and demanded his resignation. Mr. Smith immediately asked that his contribution be segregated on the church books so that none of it would go to the pastor's salary and called a meeting of his official board. The board unanimously upheld the pastor, affirmed his right to a free pulpit and demanded the resignation of a "certain rich man" from the board. Since then the doughty young pastor has been made an honorary member of several labor unions, sent by the chamber of commerce as their special speaker on a "booster's trip" and signally honored by several other civic organizations.

The mayor of the city was the leader in his defense and the wealthy owner of the radio station guarantees him full freedom and unlimited "right to prophesy" over the air. This station divides its wave length with the station of Loyola university in New Orleans and an effort is now being made to give the New Orleans station an exclusive right to it. Dr. Dodd, new president of the southern Baptist convention, is another of the special speakers over this station and a great protest is being rolled up by church people, labor leaders and progressives against depriving KDKH of its license.

* * *

South Will Remain Dry After Repeal

The result of the referendums in the three first southern states to vote on repeal of the 18th amendment was no surprise to close students of the situation. It does not follow that these state or other southern states which will vote likewise will repeal their state prohibition laws. If they do the provision for control will be very strict, outside the sale of the 3.2 beer. Many of the temperance advocates in the south think national prohibition resulted in a lowering of local and state enforcement. Apathy is the temper of even the majority of church folk regarding repeal and few seem much excited about the sale of 3.2 beer, but the south, outside Louisiana and possibly Florida, will probably remain dry after repeal has won.

The repealists won in Tennesee by a majority of less than 9,000. Memphis rolled up a count of 30,000 for repeal, Nashville gave it a sizeable majority and other cities were close, but the rural counties stood by the amendment. Prohibition leaders charge that the count in Memphis was fraudulent and that a certain ward in Nashville turned in twice as many repeal votes as there were registered voters in the ward. Efforts at a contest of the election count in Memphis received little local support, even the ministers apparently feeling that it was hopeless. The act under which the election was held gave each congressional district a quota of delegates but made the entire electorate vote as a unit. Had the vote been by districts the anti-repealists would have won.

Rumor has it that in event of repeal a special session of the legislature will be called to set up a control system in place of present state prohibition laws. The temperance people feel that, with a fair count in Memphis, they could win in a state referendum but are not sure of the present legislature.

* * *

New Trial for Four Negroes

The supreme court of Tennesee has granted a new trial to four Negroes who were convicted for the shooting of two officers at a small village near Lebanon last January, holding that the evidence proved no conspiracy to murder. Certain white lads had, it seems, picked a quarrel with some colored boys and getting the worst of it had threatened to gather a mob and "get them." The Negro boys and their families, fearing violence, went to a neighbor's house to stay for the night hoping to avoid trouble. After dark a crowd of men came to this place, accompanied by a constable and a "special deputy," and without showing warrants dragged one of the Negro boys out and were engaged in other acts of violence when shots were fired killing the constable and mortally wounding the "special deputy." An attempt by a mob to lynch the accused was thwarted by the sheriff and other white citizens, but at the trial a verdict of life imprisonment was secured with the help of one of the most noted criminal lawyers in the state. The reversal is greeted with satisfaction by the better white citizens who feel that the officers would not have acted as they did had the accused been white, and that while the shootings were not justified they were motivated by justified fear and were not deliberate.

* * *

Lynchings in the Southland

Only one lynching has been reported from Mississippi so far this year—not five, as the printer made me say in my last letter. Georgia leads with three. In the Tennesee mountains two youthful white murderers were taken from jail, where they had been held several weeks and lynched. In Louisiana a 20 year old Negro was flogged to death by three white men, and in Texas a 17 year old colored lad was shot to death within ten minutes after he had attacked a white woman. One of the Georgia lynchings was the result of a fight between white and colored boys in which one of the white boys was killed. Another was the result of a quarrel in which a young white planter took some relatives with him to a Negro tenant's cabin to "settle" a difference over the plowing of cotton, resulting in the killing of one on each side. The State council of southern women immediately called a meeting, commended the sheriff for his efforts to apprehend the lynchers in both this and another lynching in his county and called upon all good citizens to uphold the law and the honor of the state, saying they must realize "that a lynching indelibly stamps a community as primitive and savage." In South Carolina the governor has ruled that the killing of a Negro who had struck a white man was not lynching, but murder. There are many "murders" by two or three that are not technically lynchings. Meanwhile in Chattanooga a retired colored postman was accepted on a jury, lived and ate in the jury room with his white fellow jurors and was commended by them for his fairness and judgment.

* * *

Honor for Bishop Gailor

Bishop Gailor of the Episcopal diocese of Tennesee was signally honored at Sewanee, seat of the University of the South, on the fortieth anniversary of his episcopate. The governor and his staff, many churchmen and a great audience participated. Bishop Gailor was the only prominent Protestant churchman who espoused repeal in the recent prohibition referendum. He based his opposition upon state's rights and the conviction that "sumptuary legislation" should be imposed upon a minority only when the majority was overwhelming.

ALVA W. TAYLOR

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Celebrate Mass at White City

Largest Worship Assembly in British History—A Notable Day at Oxford —The Conference Adjourns

(British Table Talk)

LONDON, July 22.—More than 45,000 worshipers were present at the holy eucharist in the White City stadium on Sunday last. This is by far the largest assembly ever met together for public worship in Great Britain. It will remind American readers of the eucharist in the Chicago stadium in 1926. The eucharist was celebrated with a rich and splendid ceremonial. Six workmen made their communion an act by means of which it was designed to keep the service true to the Anglican order.

But the celebration has not passed without severe criticism from the evangelicals within the Church of England. They have objected both to the place of meeting and to the character of the ceremonial, which seems to them a direct disobedience to the thirty-nine articles. The most significant comment came from the Methodist conference during a discussion of the proposed union of churches in South India. Both Dr. Lofthouse and Dr. Ryder Smith raised the question how far the reunion proposals involved the acceptance by the Methodists of a sacerdotal view of the Christian ministry. There was a danger against which they must be on their guard. Dr. Ryder Smith, who is principal of Richmond college, said frankly:

"Who would have said two or three generations ago that there was no danger of this sort of thing in England? What happened yesterday at the White City? Who can say what will happen in two or three generations? This scheme is being treated all over the world as a sort of model or example. We cannot say we have one set of principles in South India and another set in England. Some things do not depend on geography. If you cannot mix oil and water in England, neither can you in India. Take Ceylon. There is the Anglo-Catholic party there, and it was the bishop of Colombo among all the Anglo-Catholics of the world who was selected alongside the bishop of St. Albans to celebrate high mass at the White City. If this scheme goes through, the bishop of Ceylon can claim the right to do it there."

Such a comment shows that the celebration in the White City may come to have an important place in the life of the church.

* * *

July 14th a Notable Day at Oxford

July 14, 1833, was the day upon which Keble preached his sermon on "National Apostasy." In Oxford on July 14, 1933, services were held at Keble college in St. Mary's, and a solemn procession was made past the places famous in the story to the grave of Pusey. A certain amount of mystery had gathered about the preacher who was to preach in St. Mary's. It proved to be Rev. Edward Keble Talbot, son of the first warden of Keble college, Bishop Talbot. The aged bishop, in his 90th year, was present in the congregation when his son spoke upon "The Divine Society." There were thousands taking part in these Oxford celebrations, which seem a much more appropriate remembrance of Keble and Pusey than the eucharist in the White City. The early Tractarians had no interest in splendor of ritual. Their concern was to fight the "liberalism" of their time by a restoration of the sanctity of authority of the church and by a return to the way of holiness.

* * *

The Conference Adjourns

The conference has been packing up; it is adjourned to a more favorable season; and the critics are saying that it would have been better not to have held it this summer but to have waited. The prime minister with all his masterly gifts is too ready to leave a margin of mystery about his plans, and like Mr. Micawber allows for the possibility that "something will turn up"; at the moment, whatever has turned up has been rather against than for his hopes. The conference will have served some purpose if it shows the seriousness of the differences which separate the economic conditions and policies of the nations one from another. The time has not yet come for one economic council for all nations.

* * *

Other Political Notes

Mr. Runciman has shut, bolted and barred the door against any policy of public works to be undertaken by the government in relief of unemployment. How far he was in harmony with the somewhat vague undertakings of the prime minister in Washington, opinions differ. Whether or not the prime minister, in his speech a few days ago, supported his lieutenant or came down upon him, is also uncertain; probably he meant to support Mr. Runciman.

The statement upon India made this week in parliament was in a hopeful key. The number of prisoners was greatly reduced and the civil disobedience campaign was reported to be dying down. The secretary for India approved of the action of the viceroy who had refused to see Mr. Gandhi, so long as the policy of civil disobedience was not abandoned by him. Mr. Churchill approved of the administrative acts of the government, but counseled it to listen to him and to abandon the white paper scheme. The friends of Mr. Gandhi are puzzled to know what lead he will give to congress. The government professes to believe both in order in its administration and progress in its policy. It will fight civil disobedience and support the white paper.

* * *

Death of Roy Calvert, the Prisoner's Friend

Roy Calvert was only 35 when he died on July 4, but already he was highly regarded by all who study the problem set to society by the criminal. His books were admirably written and won the admiration of lawyers and statesmen alike; it seemed as though he were a modern successor to Howard and other reformers of our prison system. During the war he served in the Friends' ambulance unit; afterwards he became secretary of the National council for the abolition of the death penalty. He visited America several times.

* * *

A Speech Day

It is the season in which schools are being visited by old boys and others who make speeches and distribute prizes. This honor fell to me at my old school, Silcoates, last week, and good it was to share in the life of the school which was never stronger than it is today under the fine leadership of the headmaster Mr. Moore. It is not a large school, but it has a place of its own in our educational life. It may be added for my American readers that this little Yorkshire school gave E. L. Godkin of the Nation to their country.

* * *

And So Forth

The Keswick convention met this week, about 5,000 persons being present. Among the speakers were Bishop Taylor Smith, Rev. Wilson Cash of the C. M. S. and Rev. Lionel Fletcher, who is a Congregationalist. It was claimed that no movement had so influenced Christian ethics as this movement for the "deepening of the spiritual life."

At the moment of writing I can see a squadron of aeroplanes passing overhead; they are busy upon their summer maneuvers, trying to discover how to attack and how to defend such a center as London.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

British Consider Bill to make Alien Jews British Citizens

Prof. Albert Einstein was in the gallery of the British house of commons on July 26, when a bill was introduced extending opportunities for Jews living in other countries to become citizens of the British empire. Commander Oliver Locker-Lampson, the sponsor of the bill, paid a tribute to Prof. Einstein, and referred to the "spirit of frightfulness" that overwhelmed Belgium and is now being turned to the persecution of a helpless handful of people. "If the League of Nations does not act," he declared, "the British empire at least ought to stand by Jewry in its trouble. My bill is designed to promote and extend citizenship in Palestine. It would prove to be a practical extension and confirmation of British duty."

"Father" Iden, Friend of Students, Dies at 77

Dr. Thomas M. Iden, spiritual adviser to University of Michigan students for 20 years, died July 20 at Ann Arbor, Mich, He was 77 years of age. As head of the famous "Upper Room Bible class" since 1918, "Father" Iden knew personally thousands of Michigan students and corresponded with them for years after they had left the university. Several years ago in appreciation of Dr. Iden's service, his students of many years raised a fund of $5,000 and sent Dr. Iden on a world tour.

Dr. Paul Scherer to Conduct National Sunday Forum

During August, September and October, Dr. Paul Scherer, pastor of Holy Trinity Lutheran church, New York, will be responsible for most of the broadcasts of the National Sunday forum, a feature of the N. B. C. The broadcast takes place from 3:30 to 4 p.m. eastern time.

Coast Churches to Fight Graft

California Methodists Also Back Anti-War Petition—Dr. Eby Gets Political Office—R. P. Shuler to Conference

(Correspondence from Los Angeles)

LOS ANGELES, July 28.—The newspapers of the state have been taking considerable interest in a set of resolutions adopted by the Southern California conference of the Methodist church at the behest of the social service group of that body, at the session held in Long Beach early this month. Contrary to the usual procedure in such reports, the committee did not evaporate in abstract generalities on the subject of economic democracy and social injustice, but called for action on specific matters, such as a demand for the elimination of the famous "red squad" of the Los Angeles police department (a group that has been out-redding the reds in handling meetings of minority protesters), support for a legislative bill proposing to investigate graft and corruption in Los Angeles city politics, protesting the action of Provost Moore of the University of California at Los Angeles for his refusal to permit the circulation of an anti-war petition among the students (an action that the provost took in harmony with a general rule against the circulation of any petitions). The American Legion met in state convention immediately afterward in Sacramento and passed the usual "viewing with alarm" resolutions and the state commander issued a challenge to debate to Prof. Paul Schilpp of the College of the Pacific who defended the resolutions. Perhaps the demand for the immediate release of Mooney and Billings caused the greatest interest, locally, in the resolutions.

The weakness of the Methodist statement lies in the fact that the report, covering 14 pages of typewritten material, was introduced at the last hour of the conference and was acted upon while the delegates were tired and awaiting the "appointments," with the result that comparatively few voted with any knowledge of the facts involved. This means, of course, that they are unable to defend their position when they get back home and the resolutions became, as a consequence, just "more resolutions." Church bodies can hardly expect their pronouncements to make much of an impression when they are voted upon without careful deliberation and seasoned judgment. They must represent the deepest convictions of the body that passes them or they carry no weight. We cannot expect others to think about resolutions that we do not think about.

* * *

Church Federation Secretary Gets Political Plum

Dr. John A. Eby, executive secretary of the church federation of Los Angeles, has been appointed to the board of water and power commissioners by the newly elected mayor, Frank L. Shaw. This is an extremely important post, the board having jurisdiction over the administration of the great municipal water supply which, incidentally, is used to develop enormous electrical power. Because of the competition of private power companies the board is always mixed up in local politics. Doctor Eby has made a good record as secretary of the church federation and friends of the latter organization regret to see him divide his interests, though the financial pressure has been most discouraging.

* * *

Los Angeles Will Miss Dr. John Snape

As already noted in The Christian Century, Dr. John Snape, successor to James Whitcomb Brougher and "Bob" Burdette has resigned as pastor of Temple Baptist church, the famous downtown church of that denomination in Los Angeles, to relinquish his pastorate September 1. He will act as a supply during the winter in Utica, New York, in the church in which he began his ministry more than 30 years ago. The city loses in Doctor Snape one of its most trusted religious leaders—a man who has projected himself into the life of the city as very few preachers have. He recently made a record for pastoral calling which probably has not been excelled anywhere in the nation: he made 1067 pastoral calls during the two weeks preceding the annual meeting of the congregation.

* * *

"Bob" Shuler Goes To General Conference

The Southern Methodists have again elected Dr. R. P. Shuler, more generally known as "Bob" Shuler, to their general conference. By far the most colorful figure of the Protestant clergy of the city, Dr. Shuler has an enormous following of devoted friends, and an equally large following of determined enemies. It is doubtful if any clergyman in America is more passionately loved and more bitterly hated than he. Not always careful in his assertions, and occasionally contradictory in his judgments, Dr. Shuler remains a terror to wrongdoers and when he speaks he can be absolutely sure of an audience. But the outside world is perhaps unaware of the fact that, entirely aside from his public activities, he is the beloved and trusted pastor of the largest church of the Southern Methodist denomination, and as such is an extremely effective administrator and untiring evangelist.

* * *

Dr. Clausen Will Supply At Temple Baptist

Perhaps one of the most interesting items for the summer is the news that Rev. Bernard C. Clausen, well known Baptist pastor of Syracuse, N. Y., is the supply preacher at Temple Baptist church, Los Angeles, during August. What a pulpit for such a preacher if he could be persuaded to come to the coast!

* * *

Save the Plaza Campaign

The Methodists have a unique institution in Los Angeles in the Plaza community center. Standing as it does on the spot where General Fremont received the surrender of the Mexicans, which meant the cession of California to the United States, this church and social center has unique historical significance. Along one side of the church runs the famous Olvera street, the original "Main street" of Los Angeles, and preserved today as the last remnant of Old Spain in the city. The Catholic Plaza church, an outpost of one of the old Franciscan missions a hundred years ago, is only a couple of hundred feet away. The Methodist institution, erected during the old "centenary" days, carries a debt of $50,000 and the bank, in order to protect its equity in the property, has been compelled to institute foreclosure proceedings. This has stirred the Methodists to such an extent that a campaign is being launched to clear the historic old church of its indebtedness and allow it to minister to the great Mexican population of the city in the midst of which it stands. In spite of depression psychology the movement seems to be getting under way.

* * *

Summer Camps For Youth

Large numbers of the youth of southern California churches are going to the mountains for summer camps under Christian leadership. At least five great centers are open in the southern half of the state and in use throughout the summer.

ROY L. SMITH

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Rochester Church Razed by Fire

Its Passing Helps Solve Problem—Many Church Assemblies Meet in Buffalo—Indians Stress Temperance

(Correspondence from Western New York)

BUFFALO, July 28. — Fire recently claimed one of western New York's splendid church structures, old First Methodist of Rochester. It was a stone building, erected about 30 years ago, the pride of Genesee conference Methodists for many years. However, as is often the case, the fire will help solve a difficult problem, namely, the problem of a downtown church facing the relentless suburban trend of both congregation and Sunday school. For a long time Rochester has boasted that it had no downtown church problem, that its strongest churches were down town. That was a fact: Brick Presbyterian, Central Presbyterian, First Baptist and First Methodist all had magnificent structures located within a literal stone's throw of each other, with immense membership and influence—it surely seemed that Rochester had solved the downtown problem. But the last five years even these great churches have admitted the problem and have been growing some wrinkles over it. In all probability First Methodist will not be rebuilt, either on the old site or elsewhere. Rev. Herbert Scott is pastor. While reporting on Rochester let me mention in passing that great Presbyterian church on East avenue, run by Methodists. Rev. Andrew Gillies, minister, had a long and honorable pastorate at Hennepin Avenue Methodist, Minneapolis. Now his congregation has called as his assistant a promising young Methodist of Genesee conference, until recently serving as student pastor at Syracuse university, Rev. Whitney M. Trousdale.

* * *

Dr. Poling at Christian Endeavor Meet

Buffalo has been host to a number of important religious gatherings this summer. The 42nd annual New York State Christian Endeavor convention met here in early July. Harry N. Holmes of New York presided; he was reelected president for the fourth consecutive year. The high point of the convention came Sunday evening at the closing session held in Elmwood music hall, where hosts of young people came to hear their international president, Dr. Daniel A. Poling. He said, among other things: "Christian Endeavor societies will not consent to traffic in intoxicants, no matter what name it goes under."

* * *

Lutherans Face Facts Of Depression

The United Lutheran synod of New York state, Dr. Samuel Trexler, president, had two dynamic hours at their session here. One was when 18 young pastors, recent graduates of New York Lutheran theological seminaries, seeking admission to the synod, accepted virtual poverty in their work. They were told by Dr. Trexler that "room, board and a small amount of spending money must be your lot for a time." That did not deter them in their quest; rather, I think, it was a real lure and challenge. The other tense hour was when Dr. Fred R. Knubel, Rochester, president of the synodical board of education, recommended that the synod withdraw from secondary education. The proposal would mean the abandonment of high schools and academies, leaving only colleges and seminaries to receive financial aid from the synod.

* * *

Evangelism Pro And Con

The New York district conference of the Evangelical Synod of North America met in St. Paul's and St. Mark's church. Rev. Rudolph Vieweg of Elmira was elected president. It was a convention of resolutions, more than 100 being adopted. Rev. Rodney Heckman, young assistant at one of Buffalo's churches, declared early in the session that "evangelism has outrun the demand and is proving a detriment to the church." As a result, a counter resolution was introduced which read in part: "We deplore the fact that the word 'evangelism' is taboo in many churches today, and that fewer recruits are won for the church because many members do not show the ardor of Christian discipleship." The resolution passed.

* * *

Indians Stress Temperance

The Tuscarora Indians, on their reservation near here, in Niagara county, are celebrating this summer the 100th anniversary of the organization of their temperance society. At the celebration the chiefs will stress especially to the youth of the tribe the dangers of legalized beer which the white man has placed on sale. Chief William Chew, president of the council of chiefs, traces his ancestry directly back to William Chew, one of the early leaders of the tribe who helped organize the temperance society in 1833.

* * *

Among the Churches

Buffalo has lost one of its most useful and popular ministers, Rev. Palfrey Perkins, for seven years minister of the First Unitarian church. He accepted a call to the leadership of the best known parish in his denomination, King's Chapel Unitarian parish, Boston, and began his work there July 1.

A depression method of cleaning, overhauling and interior decorating was undertaken some weeks since by one of Buffalo's largest churches, Plymouth Methodist. Led by their pastor, Rev. T. H. Morris, the laymen served as volunteer workers.

Hope Negro Baptist church is worshiping in its tiny frame structure; at the same time a new, larger brick structure is being erected above and around the old church. Rev. Edwin H. Boettger and his congregation have just celebrated the 30th anniversary of his fruitful pastorate in Grace Lutheran church.

Western New York preachers are "staying by the stuff" this summer, most of them taking shortened vacations, many taking no vacation whatever.

BRUCE S. WRIGHT.

Filipinos Weigh Independence Bill

Quezon is Unconvinced—Church Promotes Literacy Movement—Baptists and the United Evangelical Church

(Correspondence from the Philippines)

MANILA, July 1.—The political pot still boils. The return a short time ago of the independence mission, the mixed mission, and resident commissioner Osias has heaped abundant fuel on an already brightly burning fire. The independence mission, led by Senator Osmeña and Speaker Roxas (the "Osrox" of a recent front page headline) claim that they did what they were sent to do. Commissioner Osias ably defends their contention. The three of them, explaining the provisions of the Hawes-Cutting-Hare bill and contrasting present conditions with the situation ten years hence when its promises become realities, make the future exceedingly attractive. Furthermore, through their vivid descriptions, these men are helping people here to understand what the last three years have meant to the United States in market crashes, unemployment, bread lines, bank failures, federal deficits, rural revolutions and a general depression psychology. Certain provisions of the independence measure, interpreted here as the expression of rank American selfishness, do not seem so selfish against this background.

Senate president Quezon, who took this mixed mission to Washington and after less than a week there returned on the same steamer with the Osrox group, remains unconvinced. He still thinks congress has offered the Philippines an anti-independence act. Returning from a rest in the mountains last night, he was greeted at the railroad station by 5,000 cheering followers who heard him declare that 16 senators and 67 representatives—enough to defeat the law—are against it. He also accepted Osmeña's challenge to resign. (Osmeña and Roxas promise to surrender their official position) and let the bill go to the people instead of leaving it to the legislature.

* * *

Lively Campaigning Looks to Convening of Legislature

The legislature convenes July 17. In the meantime, both adoptionists and rejectionists are campaigning for all they are worth. Around Manila and in northern Luzon the latter appear to have a substantial majority. But in the southern islands, the mass of the people favor the measure. Last month I visited Cagayan in Mindanao and by reading placards on houses and shops got a pretty good idea of how a party of rejectionists had been received: "We favor the Hare-Hawes-Cutting law," "Aceptamos el Ley Hawes," etc.

Church Promotes Literacy Movement

A few weeks ago, I spent six weeks in Dansalan, Lanao, and had opportunity to study a church that has actually tackled the job of serving every community interest. It has furnished the headquarters for the lit-

eracy movement through which 45,000 Moros have learned to read in the past three years. It operates a kindergarten, supports a visiting nurse, cultivates a plant nursery, runs a printing press, publishes a tri-lingual semi-monthly newspaper, has a circulating library, a folk-school, a recreation center, a Moro women's club, etc.

* * *

Baptists in Church Union Move

The favorable action on union taken by the Baptists at their convention in the spring opened the way for their congregations to join the United Evangelical church provided an earlier overture for union received favorable vote when the united assembly met. Two Baptist representatives, Rev. S. S. Feldmann and Rev. Pedro Cachopero, attended the general assembly meeting to present their request and to bear fraternal greetings. When the time came to vote upon the earlier petition for union, five of the seven conferences that make up the assembly had taken favorable action and a sixth was expected to do so later. Accordingly, a resolution was passed providing that, "such individual congregations or groups of congregations as may wish to unite with the United Evangelical church, and who hold to the New Testament teaching and standards . . . may do so on declaring by resolution their sympathy with the ideals and purposes of the United Evangelical church, expressing themselves as being willing to conform thereto, and declaring their desire to cooperate with and enter into this union; that they be received and granted the same basis of representation in the district conferences and the general assembly as other constituent churches, it being understood that they approve of the principles and practices set forth in the basis of union of the United Evangelical church."

This resolution, the Baptist representatives declared, removed all obstacles so far as their churches are concerned.

E. K. HIGDON.

Women Preachers Elect Mrs. Southard President

Women of a dozen states attended the annual assembly of the Association of women preachers held last month. Headquarters have been changed from Cleveland to Dayton, O. Rev. M. Madeline Southard, of Kansas City, was elected president. The organization now publishes a bi-monthly organ, the Woman's Pulpit.

Protest Willingness to Bear Arms as Citizenship Test

In its resolutions passed last spring, the New England conference included this item: "Willingness to bear arms should not be invoked as a test of citizenship. We believe that the refusal to participate in military combat is in accord with the spirit of Christ and the Paris peace pact, and we commend such position to our ministers and laity."

Death of Bishop Burleson

Bishop Hugh L. Burleson, formerly Episcopal bishop of South Dakota, and recently in charge of the church's domestic and foreign missions, social service and education department, died at Black Hills, S. D. Aug. 1, of angina pectoris. He was 68 years of age.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Don't Bet on Love

(Lew Ayres, Ginger Rogers) (Univ.) Makes hero of unprincipled young lightweight who prefers racetrack gambling to father's plumbing trade, despite pleas of father and fiancee. Incredible luck and shady methods bring big winnings till the tide finally turns—and he marries the heroine. Clean but not sound.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

Gambling Ship

(Cary Grant, Benita Hume) (Para.) Chiefly glorifies the lawbreaking activities of gangster hero and adventuress heroine, who fall in love before either knows the other's identity, and find themselves together in the gambling business. Final reform is achieved, of course, for moral ending.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Mama Loves Papa

(Charles Ruggles, Mary Boland) (Para.) Laughable farce-comedy of character and real human interest, with Ruggles and Boland at their best. Wife's high-flown ideas drive husband out of job, into politics, into society where neither fits—and then back to old job and a raise. Built for laughs and deserves them.

For A: Notably good. For Y: Very amusing. For C: Amusing.

Midnight Club

(Clive Brook, George Raft, Helen Vincent) (Para.) Phillips Oppenheim story of London underworld with Clive Brook as master crook, and Raft as clever detective who joins "gang" to bring it to justice. Incredible situation made entertaining through fine acting and direction.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Storm at Daybreak

(Kay Francis, Walter Huston) (MGM) Colorful triangle romance, with racial and political complications, in Sarajevo, 1914. Heroine, with strong, devoted husband, falls in love with enemy officer who is husband's old friend. Spectacular suicide by husband supposedly benefits both wife and country.

For A: Very good of kind. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

Samarang

(Native cast) (U. A.) Sincere, realistic portrayal of Malaysian life. Native couple compete with hostile tribe in pearlfishing, finally gaining success and love. Thrilling animal and reptile battles. Strong in spots for sensitive children, perhaps, but on the whole entertaining and informative.

For A: Fine of kind. For Y: Worthwhile. For C: Interesting.

A Study in Scarlet

(Reginald Owen, Alan Dinehart) (Fox) Sherlock Holmes mystery-detective-thriller, probably best to date, notably well acted, directed and spoken. Dark doings of Scarlet Ring grippingly shown and convincingly solved. Owen as Holmes and Dinehart as villain, excellent. Wholesome thriller.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Entertaining. For C: Probably good.

Best Recent Films for the Family

The Working Man	Adorable
Peg o' my Heart	The Rebel
Zoo in Budapest	The Stranger's Return

Films of Special Interest to Adults

Hell Below	When Ladies Meet
Eagle and the Hawk	Jennie Gerhart
The Silver Cord	Double Harness

BOOKS RECEIVED

Final Eton Fables, by Cyril Aldington. Longmans, $1.25.

América Revolucionaria, por S. Guy Inman. Javier Morata, Madrid, 7.50 pesetas. La Nueva Domocracia, 254 Fourth Ave., New York, $1.00.

The Epistle to the Hebrews (Moffatt Commentary), by Theodore H. Robinson. Harpers, $3.50.

The Barthian Theology and the Man of Today, by John McConnachie. Harpers, $2.00.

China. Vol. II, Supplementary series, Part One, of Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry Regional Reports. Edited by Orville A. Petty. Harpers, $1.50.

The Church and the Modern City, Hale Memorial Sermon, by Frank H. Nelson. Western theological seminary.

Porphyry's Work against the Christians, an Interpretation, by Amos Berry Hulen. Author, 80 Howe St., New Haven, Conn.

The Inherent Function of Money, by William Brown. McAllister Pub. Co., Chicago.

Hitler's Reich, the First Phase, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Macmillan, $1.00.

A Short History of the Baptist Denomination, by Miles Mark Fisher. Sunday School Publishing board, Nashville, Tenn.

Is Sin Our Fault? by Stewart A. McDowell. Revell, $1.50.

Do Dead Men Live Again? by Vernon F. Storr. Revell, $1.50.

What Shall We Say of Christ? by Sydney Cave. Revell, $1.50.

For Christ and the Kingdom, by William Malcolm MacGregor. Revell, $1.00.

The Service of Christ, by David Christie. Revell, $1.25.

The Rule of Faith, by W. P. Paterson. Revell, $2.25.

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says Dr. Peter Ainslie of Herbert L. Willett's new volume . .

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says "Religion and Life" in its current review of Edward Shillito's timely volume

NATIONALISM:
MAN'S OTHER RELIGION

Edmund J. Kulp, Methodist minister of Kansas City, writes the review. He says further:

"This is the story of the problems raised by the renaissance of nationalism following the war. Dr. Shillito sees clearly that the greatest foe which the ancient religions have to face is not blank denial or indifference. The nation-state is again rising before the eyes of men as worthy of supreme devotion. . . .

"When the church won the empire and became a world factor, it assumed for some centuries to be the higher will to which the nations must bow. When the suzerainty of the church was broken in the Reformation, then the modern self-sufficient state arose. The church was no longer the giver of law to the nations and the symbol of a universal society. It became too frequently a nationalist society, a state church. Then came Machiavelli with his moral theory of the state, an idea that created the real-politik which led to the shambles in 1914.

"The author believes we can develop an idea of the nation as a function in the world-order which is forming. The church is especially charged with education for the life of the nation. . . . The church can foster the world-mindedness, the universal sense of justice, the desire for universal wellbeing, all rooted in the spiritual forces of national life, without which no future is possible except a future of bloody world-suicide."

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